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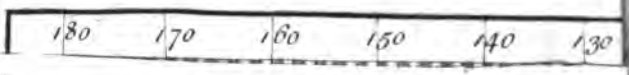
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PHILOSOPHICAL AND POLITICAL

HISTORY

OF THE

SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

OF THE

EUROPEANS

IN THE

EAST AND WEST INDIES.

REVISED, AUGMENTED, AND PUBLISHED,
IN TEN VOLUMES,
By the ABBÉ RAYNAL.

Newly tranſlated from the French,
By J. O. JUSTAMOND, F.R.S.

WITH A
NEW SET OF MAPS ADAPTED TO THE WORK,
AND A COPIOUS INDEX.

IN EIGHT VOLUMES.

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OF THE

TRANSLATOR.

THE laſt edition of this work, publiſhed by the Abbé Raynal in ten volumes, being entirely new-modelled, the tranſlation is in conſequence almoſt totally a new work. It is neceſſary to inform the Reader, that the calculations have all been made anew; moſt of them having been altered in the original. The livres are calculated at the rate of ten-pence ſterling each livre.

SEVEN new maps, engraved on purpoſe by Mr. Kitchen, and adapted to the work, are annexed, viz.

A MAP of the world, with the new diſcoveries, on Mercator's projection.

ONE map of Europe.

ONE of Africa, with the European ſettlements.

ONE of the European ſettlements in the Eaſt Indies.

ONE of the European ſettlements in South America.

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ONE of the European ſettlements in Mexico, or New Spain, and the Weſt Indies.

ONE of the United States of North America, with the Britiſh, French, and Spaniſh dominions adjoining, according to the treaty of 1783.

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BOOK I.

ſumed in countries bordering on the pole; the induſtry of the north was tranſplanted to the ſouth; and the inhabitants of the weſt were clothed with the manufactures of the eaſt; a general intercourſe of opinions, laws and cuſtoms, diſeaſes and remedies, virtues and vices, was eſtabliſhed among men.

EVERY thing has changed, and muſt change again. But it is a queſtion, whether the revolutions that are paſt, or thoſe which muſt hereafter take place, have been, or can be, of any utility to the human race. Will they ever add to the tranquillity, the happineſs, and the pleaſures of mankind? Can they improve our preſent ſtate, or do they only change it?

THE Europeans have founded colonies in all parts, but are they acquainted with the principles on which they ought to be formed? They have eſtabliſhed a commerce of exchange, of the productions of the earth, and of manufactures. This commerce is transferred from one people to another. Can we not diſcover by what means, and under what circumſtances, this has been effected? Since America and the paſſage by the Cape has been know'n, ſome nations, that were of no conſequence, are become powerful; others, that were the terror of Europe, have loſt their authority. In what manner has the condition of theſe ſeveral people been affected by theſe diſcoveries? How comes it to paſs that thoſe to whom Nature has been moſt liberal, are not always the richeſt and moſt flouriſhing? To throw ſome light on theſe important queſtions, we muſt take a view of the

ſtate

ſtate of Europe before theſe diſcoveries were made; we muſt trace circumſtantially the events they have given riſe to; and conclude with examining it, as it preſents itſelf at this day.

SUCH is the alarming taſk I have impoſed upon myſelf, and to which I have devoted my whole life. I have called in to my aſſiſtance men of information from all nations. I have interrogated the living and the dead: the living, whoſe ſentiments have been conveyed to me from all quarters; the dead, who have tranſmitted their opinions and their knowlege to us, in whatever language they may have written. I have weighed their authorities, oppoſed their teſtimonies to each other, and by theſe means have brought facts to light. Had any one pointed out to me a man living under the equator or under the pole, who might have been able to give me information on any important matter, I would have viſited either of thoſe diſtant regions, that I might have called upon him to open his mind to me. The auguſt image of Truth hath ever been preſent to my mind. O holy Truth! thou haſt been the ſole object of my veneration! If, in after-ages, this work ſhould ſtill be read, it is my wiſh, that, while my readers perceive how much I am diveſted from paſſions and prejudice, they ſhould be ignorant of the kingdom which gave me birth; of the government under which I lived; of the profeſſion I followed in my country; and of the religious faith I profeſſed: it is my wiſh, that they ſhould only conſider me as their fellow-citizen and their friend. The firſt duty that is incumbent upon us, the firſt

BOOK I.

care we ought to attend to, when we treat of things important to the happineſs of mankind, is to expel from our minds every idea of hope or fear. Raiſed above all human conſiderations, it is then we ſoar above the atmoſphere, and behold the globe beneath us. From thence it is that we let fall our tears upon perſecuted genius, upon talents neglected, and upon virtue in diſtreſs. From thence it is, that we pour forth imprecations on thoſe who deceive mankind, and thoſe who oppreſs them and devote them to ignominy. From thence it is that we ſee the proud head of the tyrant humbled and covered with duſt, while the modeſt front of the juſt man reaches to the vault of the ſkies. From thence it is, that I have been enabled to cry out, I am free, and feel myſelf upon a level with the ſubject I treat. It is from thence, in a word, that, viewing thoſe beautiful regions, in which the arts and ſciences flouriſh, and which have been for ſo long a time obſcured by ignorance and barbariſm, I have ſaid to myſelf: Who is it that hath digged theſe canals? Who is it that hath dried up theſe plains? Who is it that hath founded theſe cities? Who is it that hath collected, clothed, and civilized theſe people? Then have I heard the voice of all the enlightened men among them, who have anſwered: This is the effect of commerce.

ACCORDINGLY, thoſe ſtates, that have been commercial, have civilized all the reſt. The Phœnicians, whoſe extent of country and influence were extremely limited, acquired by their genius for naval enterpriſes, an importance which ranked

ranked them foremoſt in the hiſtory of the ancient nations. They are mentioned by every hiſtorian. They were known to the moſt diſtant climes, and their fame has been tranſmitted to ſucceeding ages.

SITUATED on a barren coaſt, ſeparated from the continent by the Mediterranean on the one ſide, and the mountains of Libanus on the other, they ſeem to have been deſtined by Nature for the dominion of the ſea. Fiſhing taught them the art of navigation, and furniſhed them with the purple dye, which they extracted from the murex; while the ſea-ſand upon their ſhores led them to diſcover the ſecret of making glaſs. Happy in poſſeſſing ſo few natural advantages, ſince the want of theſe, awakened that ſpirit of invention and induſtry, which is the parent of arts and opulence!

IT muſt be confeſſed, that the ſituation of the Phœnicians was admirably adapted to extend their commerce to every part of the world. By dwelling, as it were, on the confines of Africa, Aſia, and Europe, if they could not unite the inhabitants of the globe in one common intereſt, they at leaſt had it in their power, by a commercial intercourſe, to communicate to every nation the enjoyments of all climates. But the ancients, whom we have ſo often excelled, though we have derived much uſeful knowlege from them, had not means ſufficient to enable them to eſtabliſh an univerſal commerce. The Phœnicians had no ſhipping except gallies; they only carried on a coaſting trade, and their ſailing was confined to

BOOK I.

the Mediterranean. Although this ſtate was the model upon which other maritime powers were formed, it is not ſo eaſy to determine what it has, as what it might have performed. We may form a conjecture of the population of the Phœnicians by their colonies. It is ſaid that their numbers extended along the coaſts of the Mediterranean, and particularly on the ſhores of Africa.

TYRE or Sidon, the queen of the ocean, gave birth to Carthage. While the opulence of Tyre invited tyrants to rivet it's fetters, Carthage, the offspring of Tyre, notwithſtanding it's riches, had this happy advantage over the parent ſtate, that it enjoyed it's liberty. It commanded the coaſts of Africa, and had poſſeſſion of Spain, which in thoſe days was the richeſt country in Europe, and famous for gold and ſilver mines of it's own, though deſtined, at the expence of ſo much bloodſhed, to acquire others in the new world.

HAD the Roman power never exiſted, Carthage would in all probability have been nothing more than a commercial ſtate; but the ambition of one nation excited all the reſt to relinquiſh the arts of commerce for thoſe of war, and either to conquer or to periſh. Carthage fell in the conteſt, becauſe riches produce an oppoſite effect to poverty, ſince they extinguiſh courage, and bring on a diſlike to military exertions. The ſubverſion of a republic, which gloried in it's induſtry, and owed it's power to it's ſkill in uſeful arts, was, perhaps, a misfortune to Europe, and to the world in general.

GREECE,

GREECE, interſected every where by ſeas, muſt neceſſarily flouriſh by commerce. It's poſition in the Archipelago, and it's diſtance from any large continent, ſeemed to make it unlikely that it ſhould either conquer or be conquered. Situated between Aſia and Europe, it contributed to civilize both the one and the other, and enjoyed a deſerved ſhare of proſperity, as the reward of it's labours and ſervices. Almoſt all the Greeks came either from Egypt or Phœnicia, and brought along with them the knowlege and induſtry of thoſe countries; but of all the Aſiatic colonies, thoſe were the moſt flouriſhing and happy that had a turn for commerce.

ATHENS employed her firſt ſhips either in carrying on a trade with Aſia, or in planting as many colonies as Greece in her infancy might have received from thence: but theſe emigrations involved them in wars. The Perſians, living under an arbitrary government, would not even ſuffer any free people to ſettle on the confines of the ſea; and the Satraps inculcated into the Great King the doctrine of univerſal ſlavery. This was the ſource of all the wars in Aſia Minor, where the Athenians found means to make all the inſular and maritime ſtates either their allies or their ſubjects. Athens enlarged her commerce by her victories, and her power by her commerce. All the arts made their appearance in Greece at the ſame time, together with the luxury of Aſia.

COMMERCE, agriculture, and the means of population, were introduced into Sicily by the Greeks and the Carthaginians. Rome, who be-

BOOK I. held their progreſs with a jealous eye, ſeized upon that iſland which was deſtined to ſupply it with ſubſiſtence; and, having driven out the two nations that contended for the ſovereignty of it, attacked firſt one, and then the other. From the moment that Carthage was deſtroyed, Greece neceſſarily trembled for her fate. But it was Alexander who marked the way for the Romans; nor was it poſſible, perhaps, that the Greeks could have been ſubdued by a foreign power, if they had not firſt conquered each other. Commerce is finally deſtroyed by the riches it accumulates, as power is by it's own conqueſts; and when the commerce of the Greeks had failed in the Mediterranean, it no longer ſubſiſted in any part of the know'n world.

THE Greeks, by improving upon all the ſciences and arts they had received from the Egyptians and Tyrians, elevated human reaſon to a high degree of perfection: but it has been reduced ſo low by the ſubſequent revolutions of empires, that in all probability it will never riſe again to the ſame ſtandard. Their admirable inſtitutions were ſuperior to the beſt we have at this day. The plan upon which they founded their colonies does honour to their humanity. As all the arts owed to them their riſe and perfection, they did not ſurvive the fate of their protectors. It is evident, from ſome works of Xenophon, that the Greeks were better acquainted with the principles of trade, than moſt modern nations are at preſent.

IF we conſider that the Europeans have the advantage of all the knowlege of the Greeks; that their

their commerce is infinitely more extenſive; that, ſince the improvements in navigation, their ideas are directed to greater and more various objects; it is aſtoniſhing that they ſhould not have the moſt palpable ſuperiority over them. But it muſt be obſerved, that when theſe people arrived at the knowlege of the arts and of trade, they were juſt produced, as it were, from the hands of Nature, and had all the powers neceſſary to improve the talents ſhe had given them; whereas the European nations were ſubject to laws and inſtitutions of an extravagant nature. In Greece, the arts of trade met with men; in Europe, with ſlaves. Whenever the abſurdities of our inſtitutions have been pointed out, we have taken pains to correct them, without ever daring totally to overthrow the edifice. We have remedied ſome abuſes, by introducing others; and, in our efforts to ſupport, reform, and palliate, we have adopted more contradictions and abſurdities in our manners, than are to be found among the moſt barbarous people.

THE Romans, formed for conqueſt, though they dazzled the world with an appearance of grandeur, fell ſhort of the Greeks in their improvements in philoſophy and the arts, in their encouragement of induſtry, and their advancement of rational knowlege. They promoted an intercourſe between different nations, not by uniting them by the ties of commerce, but by impoſing upon them the ſame yoke of ſubordination. They ravaged the globe, which, when reduced to ſubjection, they left in a ſtate rather of

BOOK I.

of lethargy than tranquillity. Their deſpotiſm and military government oppreſſed the people, extinguiſhed the powers of genius, and degraded the human race.

CONSTANTINE paſſed two laws, which, though Monteſquieu has not ventured to reckon them among the cauſes of the decline of the empire, threw every thing into ſtill greater diſorder. The firſt, dictated by imprudence and fanaticiſm, though it appeared to be the effect of humanity, affords a proof that great innovations are often attended with much danger; and that the original rights of mankind cannot always be made the ſtandard of government. By this law, all ſlaves who ſhould embrace chriſtianity, were allowed their freedom. Thus, while thoſe who had hitherto dragged on a precarious exiſtence, were reinſtated in their primitive rights, the ſtate was weakened; becauſe the proprietors of large tracts of land were deprived of the number of hands neceſſary for their improvement, and were for ſome time reduced to the moſt extreme indigence. On the other hand, the new converts, having no property themſelves, or any certain means of ſubſiſtence, were not able to exert themſelves in favour of the ſtate, ſo as to repair the injury which the government had done to their maſters. It is equally impoſſible that they ſhould have had any attachment to a ſtate which did not afford them ſubſiſtence, or to a religion, which the irreſiſtible deſire of liberty alone had induced them to embrace. By another edict, paganiſm was prohibited throughout the whole empire; and

theſe

theſe extenſive dominions were thus inhabited by men, whoſe attachment to each other, and to the ſtate, was no longer ſecured by the ſolemn ties of religion, nor by the oaths of allegiance. Having no prieſts, no temples, no public morals, they had no motives to excite them to repel an enemy, who ſhould attack a government with which they were no longer connected.

ACCORDINGLY, the inhabitants of the north, when they ruſhed upon the empire, found every thing ready to favour their invaſion. Haraſſed in Poland and in Germany by ſome nations which had migrated from Great Tartary, they took a temporary poſſeſſion of certain provinces already ruined, till they were expelled by ſucceeding conquerors of a ſtill more ferocious diſpoſition than themſelves. They were a ſucceſſion of waves, preſſing upon, and driving away, each other. When theſe barbarians determined to ſettle in the regions they had laid waſte, they divided countries which the Romans had formerly united. From that moment, all communication between thoſe ſtates eſtabliſhed by accident, neceſſity, or caprice, was at an end. The ſwarms of pirates that infeſted the ſeas, together with the fierce diſpoſition of the inhabitants on the frontiers, diſcouraged every connexion that mutual convenience might have rendered neceſſary. The ſubjects of every kingdom, that had any kind of extent, were ſeparated from each other by inſurmountable obſtacles; for the banditti, who infeſted the roads, converted a journey of any length into

BOOK I. into a dangerous expedition. The nations of Europe, thus plunged a ſecond time by ſlavery and deſpair into that ſtate of inſenſibility and indolence, which muſt for many ages have been the primary ſtate of the human race, derived little advantage from the fertility of their ſoil; and their induſtry was exhauſted in the employments of a ſavage life. Tracts of country, at no great diſtance, were to them of as little importance, as if they had not exiſted; nor had they any further knowlege of their neighbours, than as they happened to excite their fears or their enmity.

THE accounts given by ſome writers of the wealth and ſplendour of the ſeventh century, are as fabulous as all the other miraculous things we read of in the hiſtory of thoſe times. The clothing then in uſe was of ſkins and coarſe woollen; the conveniencies of life were not know'n. Bold and ſolid edifices were indeed erected, which prove to what a degree of perfection an art may be carried, when it is the effect of the ſucceſſive and continual efforts of the nation that invented it. But an architecture ſprung up in the foreſts of the Druids, from an imitation of the trees, which, ſhooting up into the air, form very acute-angled arches, and the branches of which bend down and are interwoven with each other, was not calculated to convey an idea either of the affluence or taſte of the age. Neither much money, nor much knowlege of the arts, is required to pile up heaps of ſtone by the hands of ſlaves. One inconteſtible proof of the indigence of the people

people was, that taxes were levied in kind; and that even the contributions, which the inferior clergy paid to their ſuperiors, conſiſted of proviſions.

THE ſuperſtition that prevailed, increaſed the general darkneſs. With ſophiſms and ſubtlety it laid the foundations of a falſe ſcience, with which it filled the minds of men, to the detriment of real knowlege. In the eighth, and the beginning of the ninth century, Rome, no longer the capital of the maſters of the univerſe, attempted to exerciſe her authority as before, in depoſing or making kings. Deprived of inhabitants and ſoldiers, by dint of opinions and religious tenets alone, ſhe aſpired to univerſal monarchy. By her management, princes were excited to take up arms againſt each other, people againſt their kings, and kings againſt their people. All merit conſiſted in making war, and all virtue in obeying the church. The dignity of monarchs was degraded by the claims of Rome, which inſpired a contempt for princes, without exciting the love of liberty. Literature was then compriſed in a few abſurd romances, and ſome melancholy tales, the offspring of cloiſtered indolence. This contributed to entertain that dejection of ſpirit, and that propenſity to the marvellous, ſo favourable to the intereſts of ſuperſtition.

THE face of the globe was again changed by two other nations. A people pouring in from Scandinavia, and the Cimbrian Cherſoneſus, ſpread themſelves to the north of Europe, which on the ſouthern ſide was haraſſed by the Arabs. The former were

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were disciples of Wodin, the latter of Mohammed; men who had equally diffused the fanaticism of conquest with that of religion. Charlemagne subdued one of these nations, and maintained his ground against the other. These inhabitants of the north, called Saxons or Normans, were indigent, ill armed and undisciplined, of savage manners, and driven to combat and to death by misery and superstition. Charlemagne was desirous of compelling them to change that religion which rendered them so terrible, for another which would dispose them to obedience. He was obliged to wade through seas of blood, and the cross was erected on heaps of slain. He was less successful against the Arabs, conquerors of Asia, Africa, and Spain, and could not gain a footing beyond the Pyrenean mountains.

The necessity of repulsing the Arabs, but especially the Normans, occasioned the revival of naval enterprizes in Europe. Charlemagne in France, Alfred the Great in England, and some cities of Italy, built ships; and these first attempts towards navigation revived for a short time maritime commerce. Charlemagne established great fairs, the principal of which was at Aix-la-Chapelle. This is the method of trading among people where commerce is still in it's infancy.

The Arabs, in the mean time, laid the foundations of the most extensive commerce that had been know'n since the times of Athens and Carthage. It is true, this was not so much owen to the lights of cultivated reason, and to the progress of a good administration, as to the extent of their

their power, and the nature of the country they poſſeſſed. Maſters of Spain, of Africa, of Aſia Minor, of Perſia, and part of India, they introduced reciprocal exchanges, from one region to another, of the commodities in different parts of their vaſt empire. They extended themſelves gradually as far as the Moluccas and to China, ſometimes as traders, ſometimes as miſſionaries, frequently as conquerors.

Soon after this, the Venetians, Genoeſe, and Arabs of Barcelona, went to Alexandria to buy up the merchandize of Africa and India, and diſpoſed of it in Europe. The Arabs, enriched by commerce, and ſated with conqueſt, were no longer the ſame people who burnt the Alexandrian library. They cultivated the arts and polite literature, and were diſtinguiſhed from other conquering nations by their improvements of the reaſon and induſtry of men. To them we owe the ſciences of algebra and chymiſtry, new diſcoveries in aſtronomy, new improvements in mechanics and medicine, unknow'n to the ancients. But, among the fine arts, poetry is the only one they have cultivated with ſucceſs.

At the ſame period, the ſubjects of the Greek empire imitated the manufactures of Aſia; and had, through various channels, monopolized the riches of India. But the advantages they derived from both theſe circumſtances, could not ſurvive the fate of their empire; which had nothing to oppoſe to the heroic and daring enthuſiaſm of the Arabs, but the weak and unmanly weapons of ſcholaſtic logic, and the controverſial armour of

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monks; who had gained ſuch an aſcendant, that the Emperor uſed to aſk God pardon for the time he employed in affairs of ſtate. Painting and ſculpture were no longer know'n; and it was matter of eternal diſpute whether images ought, or ought not, to be worſhipped. The Greeks, ſurrounded by the ocean, and in poſſeſſion of ſeveral iſlands, had yet no maritime force; they defended themſelves againſt the naval power of Egypt and of the Saracens by wild fire; the vain and precarious defence of a degenerate people. Conſtantinople, not being in a condition to protect her maritime trade at a diſtance, reſigned it to the Genoeſe, who ſeized upon Caffa, which they made a flouriſhing city.

THE nobility of Europe acquired a tincture of the manners of the Greeks and Arabs in their ridiculous expeditions of the cruſades. They grew acquainted with their arts and their luxury, which afterwards became objects of neceſſity to them. The Venetians had a more extenſive demand for the goods they brought from the eaſt; and the Arabs themſelves carried ſome of them into France, England, and even into Germany.

THESE powers had at that period neither ſhipping nor manufactures; they laid reſtraints upon commerce, and the character of a merchant was in no degree of eſtimation. This uſeful ſet of men were never reſpected among the Romans. They treated their merchants with as much contempt as their players, courtezans, baſtards, ſlaves, and gladiators. The political ſyſtem, eſtabliſhed throughout Europe by the power and ignorance of the northern

northern nations, muſt neceſſarily have confirmed a prejudice, which owed it's riſe to a barbarous pride. Our anceſtors had the abſurdity to adopt, as the baſis of their government, a principle deſtructive of all ſociety; a contempt for uſeful labour. The only perſons in any degree of eſtimation were the lords of manors, or ſuch as had diſtinguiſhed themſelves in battle. The nobles, it is well known, were ſo many petty ſovereigns, who abuſed their own power, and oppoſed that of the monarch. The barons were fond of parade, avaricious, whimſical, and poor. Sometimes they invited the merchants into their little ſtates, and at others extorted money from them. In theſe barbarous times were eſtabliſhed the ſeveral duties of tolls, of export and import, of paſſage, of quarters, of eſcheat, and other oppreſſions without number. All the bridges and highways were opened or ſtopped up at the will of the prince or his vaſſals. The firſt elements of commerce were ſo totally unknown, that it was cuſtomary to fix the price of commodities. The merchants were often pillaged, and always ill paid by the knights and barons. Trade was carried on in caravans or companies which went armed to the places where the fairs were kept. At theſe marts the merchants omitted nothing that might engage the favour of the people. They were generally accompanied by jugglers, muſicians, and buffoons. As there were then no large towns, and that neither public ſpectacles and meetings, nor the ſedentary pleaſures of private ſociety were know'n, the fair time was the ſeaſon for diverſions,

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which, degenerating into diſſoluteneſs, gave a ſanction to the invectives and ſeverities of the clergy. The traders were frequently excommunicated. The people held thoſe ſtrangers in abhorrence, who ſupplied their tyrants with ſuperfluities, and aſſociated with men, whoſe manners were ſo repugnant to their prejudices and rude auſterity of life. The Jews, who ſoon engaged in all the branches of commerce, did not bring it into much repute. They were then conſidered in the ſame light throughout all Europe, as they are at this day in Poland and Turkey. As their fortunes were increaſing every day, they were enabled to advance money to merchants and tradeſmen; for which they demanded intereſt equivalent to the riſque they ran in veſting their capital in other hands. The ſchoolmen were violent in oppoſing this neceſſary meaſure, which their rude prejudices had taught them to condemn. This theological determination of a point of a civil and political nature, was attended with ſingular conſequences. The magiſtrates, blinded by an authority, againſt even the unjuſt exerciſe of which no one dared to appeal, denounced ſentence of confiſcation and ignominious penalties againſt uſury, which, in thoſe dark ages, the laws did not diſtinguiſh from the moſt moderate intereſt. It was at this juncture, that, to make themſelves amends for the dangers and mortifications they were expoſed to in carrying on a commerce, which was looked upon as odious and unlawful, the Jews abandoned themſelves to the moſt exceſſive rapacity. They were obliged to add

add to the price of money which may be eſtimated by the wants of the perſon who borrows, by the credit of him who lends, and by a number of other circumſtances, the price of infamy, which is either of little value, or for which there can be no compenſation. They became objects of univerſal deteſtation. Perſecuted, pillaged, and proſcribed, they invented bills of exchange, which ſecured the remains of their fortunes. The clergy declared the exchange uſurious, but it was of too great utility to be aboliſhed. One of the effects it produced was to make the merchants more independent of the prince, who treated them better, apprehending that they might tranſport their riches into other countries.

THE Italians, who are better known by the name of Lombards, were the firſt who took advantage of this early change of ideas. They formed ſmall communities, and procured the protection of ſome ſtates, who, on their account, diſpenſed with the laws againſt ſtrangers, which had been made in the barbarous ages. By virtue of this indulgence, they became agents for all the ſouthern parts of Europe.

THE inhabitants of the north began likewiſe to awake from their lethargy; but their recovery was later, and effected with greater difficulty. Hamburgh and Lubec, having attempted to open a trade in the Baltic, were obliged to unite for their mutual defence againſt the pirates who infeſted thoſe latitudes. The ſucceſs of this little combination encouraged other towns to enter into the confederacy; in a ſhort time, this was

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compoſed of fourſcore cities, which had either obtained or purchaſed the privilege of being governed by their own laws, and formed a line of communication from the Baltic to the Rhine. This aſſociation, which was the firſt modern one that adopted a regular ſyſtem of commerce, ſupplied the Lombards with naval ſtores and other merchandiſe of the north, in exchange for the produce of Aſia, Italy, and other ſouthern countries.

FLANDERS was the ſcene of theſe fortunate tranſactions; but it was not to its ſituation alone that it owed a diſtinction ſo favourable to its intereſts: this muſt likewiſe be attributed to its numerous manufactures of fine cloth, and particularly of tapeſtry; which laſt affords a proof how little the arts of drawing and perſpective were then known. By theſe advantageous circumſtances, the Low-Countries became the richeſt, the moſt populous, and the beſt cultivated part of Europe.

THE flouriſhing condition of the inhabitants of Flanders, the Hanſe Towns, and ſome republics, who owed their proſperity to their freedom, engaged the attention of moſt of the reigning monarchs, in whoſe dominions the right of citizens had hitherto been confined to the nobility and clergy; the reſt of their ſubjects were ſlaves. But as ſoon as the cities were declared free, and had large immunities granted them, the merchants and mechanics entered into aſſociations, which roſe in eſtimation as they acquired riches. The ſovereigns oppoſed theſe aſſociations to the barons.

Thus anarchy and feudal tyranny gradecreaſed. The tradeſmen became citizens, e third order of the ſtate was reſtored to ivilege of being admitted to the national ›ly.

NTESQUIEU attributes to Chriſtianity the ır of having aboliſhed ſlavery; but we re to differ from him. When induſtry and prevailed among the people, the princes ı to hold them in ſome eſtimation; when ›overeign could avail himſelf of the riches of ›eople, to gain advantages over the barons, were framed to put the people in a better lition. It was through that ſound policy, ch commerce always introduces, and not ›ugh the ſpirit of the Chriſtian religion, that gs were induced to beſtow freedom upon the es of their vaſſals, becauſe thoſe ſlaves, when de free, became ſubjects. Pope Alexander III. s true, declared that Chriſtians were to be ex›pt from ſervitude; but this declaration was ade merely to pleaſe the kings of France and ngland, who were deſirous of humbling their aſſals. Had he been inſpired by the love of juſce and humanity, he would not have ſaid that he Chriſtian alone, but that Man in general, vas not born for ſlavery. He would have ſaid, hat the perſon, who is a voluntary ſlave, is a coward; that there are no lawful chains to bind an unwilling ſlave; that he, who is not able to break theſe chains by force, is innocent in delivering himſelf from them by flight; and that his pretended maſter is an aſſaſſin, if he ſhould puniſh

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with death an action to which nature gives a ſanction. But the Chriſtian religion of the church of Rome is ſo far from prohibiting ſlavery, that, in the catholic countries of Germany, as in Bohemia and Poland, where the people are extremely bigoted to that communion, they are ſtill ſlaves; and the eccleſiaſtical juriſdictions in theſe parts have ſtill their bondſmen, as they formerly had in France, without incurring the cenſure of the church.

In Italy, one might perceive the dawn of more proſperous days. The republics of Piſa, Genoa, and Florence, were eſtabliſhed on the wiſeſt principles: the factions of the Guelphs and Gibbelines, which had for ſo many ages laid waſte theſe delightful countries, were at length appeaſed: trade flouriſhed, and conſequently learning would ſoon be introduced. Venice was in the height of its glory; its navy, which eclipſed that of its neighbours, checked the progreſs of the maritime power of the Mammelucs and the Turks; in commerce it was ſuperior to all the European ſtates taken together; its inhabitants were numerous, and its riches immenſe; the revenues were well managed, and the people were content; the republic borrowed money of the richer ſubjects, from motives, not of neceſſity, but of policy. The Venetians were the firſt people who found out the ſecret of attaching rich individuals to the intereſt of government, by inviting them to veſt ſome part of their fortune in the public funds. At Venice there were manufactures of ſilk, gold, and ſilver; it ſupplied foreigners

ners with ſhips: its works in gold and ſil-
ere the beſt, and almoſt the only ones, of
ime. The inhabitants were even accuſed of
agance in having gold and ſilver plate, and
utenſils of the ſame materials. They were
however, without ſumptuary laws; but theſe
o reſtraint on a ſpecies of luxury, by which
ms expended were preſerved to the ſtate.
noblemen united œconomy with ſplendour;
pulence of Venice revived the architecture of
s; and upon the whole there was magnifi-
as well as elegance in their luxury: the
e were ignorant, but the nobles were en-
ned: the government oppoſed the attempts
e popes with firmneſs and prudence. *Siamo*
ziani, poi Chriſtiani, ſaid one of their ſenators,
expreſſed in theſe words the ſenſe of the
e ſenate; for at that early period they de-
d the prieſthood, though they ſhould rather
made it uſeful to morality; which, however,
more rigid and pure among the Venetians
among the other people of Italy. Their
ps were very different from thoſe miſerable
dottieri, whoſe name was ſo much more terrible
their arms. Venice was the ſeat of polite-
; and ſociety was then under leſs reſtraint from
inquiſitors, than it has been ſince the republic
an to be jealous of the power of its neighbours,
diffident of it's own ſtrength.

IN the fifteenth century, Italy far ſurpaſſed the
er ſtates of Europe. The moſt extravagant
l moſt perſecuting ſpirit of ſuperſtition, which
plied the place of every kind of merit, and

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occaſioned ſo many ſecret artifices and cruel oppreſſions, was, however, the means of releaſing Spain gradually from the Arabian yoke; its ſeveral provinces had lately been united by the marriage of Ferdinand and Iſabella, and the conqueſt of Granada; and it's power was even equal to that of France. The fine wool of Caſtile and Leon was prepared at Segovia, and the cloths manufactured from it were ſold all over Europe, and even in Aſia. The perpetual efforts the Spaniards were obliged to make to preſerve their liberty, inſpired them with reſolution and confidence; their ſucceſs had elevated their minds; and, being unenlightened, they abandoned themſelves to all the enthuſiaſm of chivalry and religion. Confined to a peninſula, and having no immediate intercourſe with other nations, they deſpiſed them; and diſplayed that ſort of proud diſdain, which, either among individuals or communities, is uſually the characteriſtic of ignorance. They were the only people that maintained a ſtanding body of infantry, which was excellent. Having been for many ages involved in war, their ſoldiery was indiſputably ſuperior to that of the other ſtates of Europe.

THE Portugueſe were nearly of the ſame kind of turn; but their monarchy was better regulated than that of Caſtile, and the adminiſtration was conducted with more eaſe after the reduction of the Moors by the conqueſt of Algarva.

IN France, Lewis XI. had juſt lowered the power of the great vaſſals, raiſed that of the magiſtracy, and made the nobles ſubſervient to the laws,

laws. The people of France, growing leſs dependent on their lords, muſt neceſſarily become, in a ſhort time, more induſtrious, more active, and more reſpectable; but induſtry and commerce could not flouriſh on a ſudden. Reaſon muſt of courſe make but a ſlow progreſs in the midſt of thoſe commotions which were ſtill excited by the great, and under the reign of a prince devoted to the moſt abominable ſuperſtition. The barons were diſtinguiſhed only by their ſavage pomp; their revenues were ſcarce ſufficient to entertain in their ſuite a train of gentlemen without employment, who defended them againſt the ſovereign and the laws. The expences of their table were immoderate; and this barbarous luxury, of which there are ſtill too many remains, afforded no encouragement to any of the uſeful arts. But neither the manners nor the language of thoſe times partook of that decency which diſtinguiſhes the ſuperior ranks of citizens, and procures them reſpect from the reſt. Notwithſtanding the courteſy enjoined to the knights, coarſe and rough manners ſtill prevailed among the great; the nation had then the ſame character of inconſiſtence it has ſince preſerved, and which a nation will ever have, whoſe morals and cuſtoms are not conformable to the laws. The councils iſſued innumerable, and frequently contradictory edicts; but the prince readily diſpenſed with the obſervance of them. By this eaſy diſpoſition of the ſovereign, the inconveniencies which would have ariſen from a multitude of laws inconſiderately made by the French miniſtry, have been happily prevented.

ENGLAND,

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ENGLAND, leſs opulent, and leſs induſtrious than France, was compoſed of inſolent barons, deſpotic biſhops, and a people who were tired of their yoke; a certain reſtleſs diſpoſition prevailed in the nation, which muſt neceſſarily, ſooner or later, lead them on to liberty. This character owed its riſe to the abſurd tyranny of William the Conqueror, and the cruel diſpoſition of ſeveral of his ſucceſſors. The intolerable abuſe of power had made the Engliſh extremely jealous of their ſovereigns; the very name of king carried with it the idea of terror; and theſe ſentiments, tranſmitted from father to ſon, afterwards laid the foundation of that form of government they now have the happineſs to enjoy. The long contention between the houſes of York and Lancaſter, while it raiſed a martial ſpirit and an impatience of ſlavery, involved the nation, at the ſame time, in poverty and confuſion. The Engliſh wool was then manufactured in Flanders, and was exported, as well as its lead and tin, in veſſels belonging to the Hanſe Towns. The principles of navigation, of internal policy, juriſprudence, luxury, and the fine arts, were entirely unknown in England; at the ſame time that it was overburthened with a multitude of rich convents and hoſpitals. Theſe convents were the uſual reſort of the diſtreſſed nobles, as the hoſpitals were of the common people; idleneſs and barbarous manners were encouraged by theſe ſuperſtitious inſtitutions.

GERMANY, which had long been agitated by quarrels between the emperors and the popes, and by inteſtine wars, had at this time begun to enjoy

enjoy a ſtate of tranquillity. Order had taken place of anarchy, and the inhabitants of this extenſive country, who, though ſtrangers to wealth and commerce, were verſed in the arts of war and agriculture, had nothing to fear from their neighbours, neither could they be formidable to them. The feudal ſyſtem, ſo fatal to mankind in other countries, here aſſumed a milder aſpect; the princes preſiding over this large portion of the European continent, generally ſpeaking, governed their reſpective ſtates with a degree of moderation; they ſeldom abuſed their authority, and if the peaceable poſſeſſion of their inheritance could compenſate the want of liberty, the Germans were happy; commerce and induſtry were entirely confined to the free cities, and to the towns included in the Hanſeatic league; the mines of Hanover and Saxony were not yet diſcovered; money was ſcarce; the farmer ſold a few horſes to ſtrangers, nor had the princes yet introduced the traffic of the human ſpecies; the expences of the table, and a variety of equipages, were the only articles of luxury; the nobles and the clergy intoxicated themſelves, without diſturbing the government; it was with ſome difficulty that the gentry were diſſuaded from amuſing themſelves with robbing on the highways; their manners were ſavage, and, during the two ſucceeding centuries, the German troops were more diſtinguiſhed by their cruelties than by their diſcipline and bravery.

THE northern countries had made leſs progreſs than Germany. Oppreſſed by the nobles and prieſts,

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prieſts, the inhabitants no longer retained that enthuſiaſtic love of glory with which the religion of Wodin had formerly inſpired them; nor were they yet acquainted with thoſe wiſe inſtitutions which ſome of them have ſince borrowed from better forms of government. Their power was ſo inconſiderable, that a ſingle Hanſe Town was capable of intimidating the three potentates of the north. They recovered their national importance after the reformation, and under the auſpices of Frederic and Guſtavus Vaſa.

THE Turks were ſtrangers to the ſcience of government: they had no knowledge of the arts, nor taſte for commerce: but the Janiſſaries were the beſt troops in the world; and there wanted but one ſingle verſe to be added to the Coran, to make thoſe people, over whom religion has hitherto had ſo much influence, become the maſters of the world. If Mohammed, after having ſaid, *Thou ſhalt return to the enemy the month of calamity for the month of calamity*, had added: *And thou ſhalt deſpiſe the vain knowledge of the ſtranger; the art of war is the only one thou ſhalt learn from him*; the freedom of Europe would then have been at an end. Whoever ſhall teach the perfection of the military art to the Turks, will be the common enemy of all nations. The Janiſſaries, thoſe attendants of a deſpot whom they keep in awe, or to whom they inſure reſpect; whom they fix upon the throne, or ſtrangle at pleaſure, had at the time ſome great men for their leaders. They ſubverted the empire of the Greeks, who were infatuated with theology, and ſtupified

ſtupified by ſuperſtition. Some of the inhabitants of this mild climate, who cultivated literature and the arts, abandoned their ſubjugated country, and took refuge in Italy; whither they were followed by manufacturers and traders. Competency, peace, proſperity, the ambition of excelling in every accompliſhment, and the deſire of new pleaſures, which is inſpired by good governments, favoured the revival of letters in the country of the ancient Romans; and the Greeks brought to the Italians a better knowledge of good models, and a taſte for antiquity. The art of printing was invented; and though for a long time the diſcovery was of little uſe while the people continued in a ſtate of poverty and indolence, yet when commerce and the arts had made ſome progreſs, it diffuſed the knowledge of books. A love of ſtudy prevailed, and the ancients were univerſally admired: but they had no rivals except in Italy.

Rome, which in every age has almoſt always aſſumed a character the beſt adapted to the preſent moment, ſeemed diſpoſed no longer to encourage that ignorance which had ſo long and ſo materially been ſubſervient to her intereſts. She protected polite literature, and ſuch of the arts as depended more on imagination than reaſon. The moſt ignorant prieſt is well aware, that repreſentations of a terrible divinity, mortification, ſelf-denial, auſterity, melancholy, and terror, are ſo many expedients to gain an aſcendant over the minds of men, by engaging them deeply in religious matters. But there are times when theſe expedients

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expedients have but little effect. Men who have grown rich in peaceful ſtates, are fond of enjoying themſelves; they diſlike the dull road of life, and are eager in their purſuit of pleaſures. When fairs began to be eſtabliſhed, with entertainments of ſports, dancing, and other recreations, the clergy, who obſerved that the love of feſtivity made the people leſs religious, prohibited theſe ſports, and excommunicated thoſe who bore a part in them. But finding that no regard was paid to their cenſures, they changed their plan, and determined to take theſe amuſements into their own hands. Such was the origin of ſacred comedy. The death of St. Catherine, acted by the monks of St. Denys, rivalled the ſucceſs of the players. Muſic was introduced into the churches; and even farces were exhibited there. The feſtivals called *la Fête des Foux & de l' Ane, & des Innocens*, proved as entertaining to the people, as the farces that were acted in the public places. It often happened, that, attracted by the mere love of amuſement, they left the dances of the Gypſies, to join in the proceſſion for the feſtival of St. John. As the Italians improved in politeneſs, their pleaſures became more refined; and the decency that was introduced into their common feaſts and public entertainments, afforded leſs pretence for the cenſures of the prieſts, and procured them a toleration. The merit of being able to read had been long confined to this claſs of men; but when it became a more general accompliſhment, they could no longer avail themſelves of this diſtinction: and finding that learning was the

the road to fame, they were ambitious of ſhining in literary purſuits. The popes, who enjoyed an opulent and peaceful ſovereignty in the voluptuous region of Italy, laid aſide their auſterity. Their court became an agreeable one. The cultivation of literature was conſidered as a new expedient to eſtabliſh their authority over the minds of men. Genius was cheriſhed, and marks of honour were conferred upon great artiſts. Raphael died but a ſhort time before he was to have been created a cardinal; and Petrarch had the honours of a triumph. As little conformable as this good taſte, and theſe new amuſements, may appear to the ſpirit of the goſpel, they were evidently calculated to promote the intereſt of the papal throne. The fine arts and learning ſerve to ornament this eccleſiaſtical ſtructure; but philoſophy demoliſhes it. Thus, while the church of Rome favoured polite literature and the fine arts, it diſcountenanced the more accurate ſciences. Poets were crowned with laurels; but philoſophers were perſecuted. Galileo from his priſon might have beholden Taſſo carried in triumph to the capitol, if thoſe men of great genius had been cotemporaries.

It was now time that philoſophy and learning ſhould lend their ſupport to morality and reaſon. The church of Rome had taken all imaginable pains to ſubvert thoſe principles of juſtice which nature had implanted in all mankind. The ſingle maxim, that the pope had a right to the ſovereignty of all empires, ſapped the foundation of all ſociety and public virtue: this maxim, however,

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ever, had for a long time prevailed, together with that horrid doctrine, which not only permitted but enjoined hatred and perſecution towards all whoſe religious opinions were not agreeable to thoſe of the Romiſh church. Indulgences, a ſpecies of expiation which might be purchaſed for all crimes, or if any thing can be ſtill more monſtrous, for crimes to be committed in future; diſpenſations for breaking faith with the enemies of the pontiff, though they were of the ſame religion; that article of belief which teaches, that the merit of the juſt may be transferred to the wicked; vices of all kinds exemplified in the lives of the popes, and other religious perſons, who ought to have ſet examples to the people; above all, that greateſt reproach to humanity, the inquiſition: all theſe horrid enormities made Europe appear to be rather the haunt of tygers and ſerpents, than a vaſt country inhabited or cultivated by men.

SUCH was the ſtate of Europe, when the Portugueſe monarch, at the head of an active, generous, and intelligent people, ſurrounded by neighbours who ſtill preyed upon each other, formed a plan of extending his dominions by ſea and land.

First voyages of the Portugueſe into thoſe ſeas, where it was ſuppoſed the iſland of Atalantis formerly was.

IT was an opinion generally prevailing, that it was impoſſible to ſail acroſs the Atlantic Ocean; and that the weſtern coaſts of Africa, ſcorched by the torrid zone, were uninhabitable. This prejudice might have been removed by conſulting ſome writings of antiquity, which had been ſaved from the deſtructive hand of time, and the devaſtations of ignorance: but men at that period were not

not ſufficiently converſant with theſe learned works, to diſcover truths in them which are not very diſtinctly ſpoken of. Our information upon theſe important objects, was to proceed from the Moors and the Arabs, who had already communicated ſo much knowledge to Europe. Theſe people, ſailing acroſs a ſea that was deemed impracticable, drew immenſe riches from a country ſuppoſed to be on fire. Some expeditions undertaken to Barbary brought the ſource of their good fortune to light; and it was reſolved to go in ſearch of it. This project was formed by adventurers of all nations; but Henry, ſon of John I. king of Portugal, was the only one who adopted wiſe meaſures in the purſuit of it.

THIS prince availed himſelf of the little knowledge which was preſerved among the Arabs. At Sagrés, a city of Algarva, an obſervatory was eſtabliſhed by his orders, where the young noblemen compoſing his court were inſtructed. He had a conſiderable ſhare in the invention of the Aſtrolabe, and was the firſt who was ſenſible of the advantages that might be drawn from the compaſs, which, though already known in Europe, had never been applied to the purpoſes of navigation.

THE pilots, who ſtudied under his direction, in the year 1419 diſcovered Madeira, which ſome learned men have conſidered as the poor remains of the iſland anciently called Atalantis. But it is a queſtion whether there ever was ſuch an iſland; and if ſo, what was its ſituation and extent? Theſe are points upon which we may form our opinion, according to the degree of confidence

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we place in Diodorus Siculus and Plato, and according to the manner in which we interpret what they ſay upon the ſubject. 'After having gone 'over the iſlands in the neighbourhood of the 'pillars of Hercules,' ſays the firſt of theſe writers, 'we proceed to ſpeak of thoſe which are 'further advanced in the ocean, going towards 'the weſt. In the ſea bordering upon Lybia, 'there is one very famous iſland at the diſtance of 'ſeveral days ſail from the continent.'

DIODORUS then enlarges upon the population, manners, laws, fertility, and remarkable things of this iſland; after which he continues thus:

'IN the moſt remote times of antiquity, this 'iſland was diſcovered by the Phœnicians. They 'paſſed the pillars of Hercules, and ſailed into 'the ocean. Near theſe pillars they founded 'Gadeïra or Cadix. They had ſailed through 'the ſeas beyond the pillars, and along the coaſt 'of Lybia, when they were overtaken by a vio-'lent ſtorm, which threw them out at ſea into 'the main ocean. After having experienced ſe-'veral days of bad weather, they arrived at the 'aforementioned iſland. They publiſhed an ac-'count of this voyage; and formed the project 'of a ſettlement in this new country: but the 'Carthaginians oppoſed it, apprehending that it 'would depopulate their country.'

LET us now conſider what is become of this iſland, which is no longer to be found. We may perhaps learn this from Plato.

IN his dialogue intitled Timæus, Critias addreſſes himſelf to Socrates in the following terms:

'Solon

'Solon was the intimate friend of Dropidas our 'anceſtor. Dropidas regretted much that public 'affairs had diverted Solon from the turn he had 'for poetry, and had prevented him from finiſh- 'ing his poem upon the Atalantis. He had 'brought the ſubject of it with him from his 'voyage into Egypt. Solon uſed to ſay, that 'the inhabitants of Saïs, a city ſituated at the 'point of the Delta, at the place where the 'Nile divides itſelf into two branches, thought 'themſelves to be ſprung from the Athenians, 'whoſe lance, ſword, buckler, and other arms 'they had preſerved among them. To this opi- 'nion prevailing in the iſland, he attributes the 'honours he received from the inhabitants: there 'it was that this legiſlator, poet, and philoſo- 'pher, converſing with the prieſts, and enter- 'taining them with accounts of Prometheus the 'firſt of mankind, of Niobe, of the deluge of 'Deucalion, and other ſimilar traditions, one of 'the prieſts exclaimed, "O Solon, Solon! you "Greeks are ſtill in a ſtate of infancy; there is "not a ſingle old man amongſt you. You miſ- "take emblematical fables for facts. You have "no knowledge but of one deluge, which how- "ever has been preceded by many others. It is "a long time ſince Athens hath exiſted. It is a "long time that it hath been civilized. It is a "long time that its name hath been famous in "Egypt on account of exploits of which you are "ignorant, and the hiſtory of which is conſigned "in our archives. There it is that you may in- "form yourſelf of the antiquities of your city."

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THE prieſt, after having explained in a very ſenſible and beautiful manner the cauſes of the ignorance of the Greeks, proceeds in the following manner:

"THERE it is that you will learn how gloriouſly "the Athenians in ancient times ſubdued a for- "midable power that had diſperſed itſelf in Eu- "rope and Aſia, by a ſudden irruption of war- "riors iſſuing from the midſt of the Atlantic "Ocean. A conſiderable extent of land, ſituated "oppoſite to the mouth of the ſtreight called the "Pillars of Hercules, was ſurrounded by this ſea. "It was a region more extenſive than Aſia and "Lybia taken together. Between this country "and the ſtreight there was a number of other "ſmaller iſlands.

"THE country of which I have been ſpeaking "to you, or the iſland Atalantis, was governed "by confederate ſovereigns. In an expedition "of theirs, they ſeized upon Lybia as far as "Egypt on one ſide, and on the other upon all the "countries as far as Tyrrhenia. We were all "ſlaves, and your anceſtors were the perſons who "recovered our liberty. They led their fleets "againſt the inhabitants of this iſland, and de- "feated them. But a greater misfortune than "this ſtill awaited them. A ſhort time after, "their whole iſland was ſunk; and this territory, "more extenſive than Europe and Aſia taken to- "gether, diſappeared in an inſtant."

WHAT a fund for reflection doth not this quotation afford us? A heap of moving ſands is the ſpot upon which man repoſes, or exerts his faculties;

ties; he ruſhes, by his projects, into eternity; while a concurrence of fatal cauſes may unfold itſelf in an inſtant, and annihilate him, together with the ſuperb edifices he hath erected.

ONE circumſtance that contributes to ſtrengthen the two preceding teſtimonies is, that the ſea which at this day bears the name of Atlantic, is not of any conſiderable depth; and that at a great diſtance from its ſhores, we find the varec and other marine ſubſtances, which indicate the exiſtence of an ancient continent.

Diſcovery of Madeira.—Preſent ſtate of the iſland.

BUT whether this country were real or imaginary, ſtill there is a tradition which has gained much credit, that at the arrival of the Portugueſe, the iſland of Madeira was covered with foreſts; that theſe were ſet on fire, that they continued burning during the whole courſe of ſeven years, and that at the end of that period, the ſoil was found to be of an extraordinary fertility. According to the calculation of the year 1768, the Portugueſe have formed upon this territory, which is five and twenty miles in length, and ten in breadth, a population of ſixty-three thouſand nine hundred and thirteen ſouls, of all ages, and of both ſexes; which are diſtributed in forty-three pariſhes and ſeven ſmall towns, beſide the town of Funchal, built with no great ſhare of taſte, upon the ſouthern coaſt, in a fertile valley, and at the foot of ſome mountains, the gentle ſlope of which is covered with gardens and very agreeable villas. The city is traverſed by ſeven or eight rivulets, more or leſs conſiderable. Its road, which is the only ſpot where it is allowed to load and unload ſhips,

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and conſequently the only one where the cuſtoms are ſettled, is very ſafe during moſt of the year. When it happens, which is very ſeldom, that the winds blow from between the ſouth-eaſt and the weſt-north-weſt quarter, paſſing by the ſouth, it is neceſſary to go out of this road; but it is a fortunate circumſtance that the bad weather may be foreſeen four-and-twenty hours previous to its coming on.

THE gaps in the mountains, the blackiſh colour of the ſtones, and the lava mixed with the ſoil, are all ſo many indications of an ancient volcano on this ſpot. Accordingly, there is very little corn gathered here; and the inhabitants are obliged to draw from foreign parts three-fourths of what they conſume.

THE vineyards are the only reſource of the inhabitants. They occupy the declivity of ſeveral mountains, the ſummits of which are planted with cheſnut trees. Rows of pomegranate, orange, lemon, myrtle, and wild roſe trees, fill up the intermediate ſpace. The grapes uſually grow under bowers, and ripen in the ſhade. The trees which produce them are watered by numberleſs rivulets, which, iſſuing from the heights, do not loſe themſelves in the plains, till after they have gone through an infinite number of windings among the plantations. Some of the proprietors have acquired or uſurped the right of turning theſe ſtreams conſtantly to their advantage; others have them only once, twice, or thrice in a week. Thoſe even who want to plant a new vineyard under a burning climate, and in a dry ſoil, where watering

ing is indiſpenſably neceſſary, cannot partake of this privilege, without purchaſing it at a very high price.

THE produce of the vines is always divided into ten ſhares: one belongs to the king, another to the clergy, four parts to the proprietor, and as many to the cultivator.

THE iſland brings forth ſeveral ſorts of wine. The beſt and ſcarceſt ſort is drawn from a plant brought originally from Candia. It has a delicious kind of ſweetneſs, is known by the name of Malmſey Madeira, and is ſold for one hundred piſtoles * the pipe. The Madeira, which is dry, does not coſt more than ſix or ſeven hundred livres †; and the principal vent for it is in England. The wines of an inferior quality, and the pipe of which does not exceed four or five hundred livres §, are deſtined for the Eaſt Indies, for certain iſlands, and for the continent of North America.

THE vintages commonly yield about thirty thouſand pipes. Thirteen or fourteen thouſand of the beſt wines are diſperſed in different parts of the globe: the reſt is conſumed in the country, or changed into vinegar and brandy for the conſumption of the Brazils.

THE public revenue here is raiſed by tithes generally laid upon all productions; by a tax of 10 *per cent.* upon every article of import, and 12 *per cent.* upon every article of export. Theſe objects, taken together, yield a revenue of

* 41 l. 13 s. 4 d. at 8 s. 4 d. the piſtole. † From 25 l. to 29 l. and upwards. § From 16 l. to 20 l. and upwards.

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2,700,000 livres *. Such, however, are the vices of adminiſtration, that ſcarce any part of this conſiderable ſum returns to the mother country.

THE colony is governed by a chief, whoſe dominion extends likewiſe over Porto-Santo, in which there are no more than ſeven hundred inhabitants and ſome vineyards; over the ſalvages which are ſtill leſs profitable; and over ſome other ſmall iſlands which are entirely uninhabited, except in fiſhing ſeaſons. For the defence of this important ſettlement, the governor is allowed no more than one hundred regular troops; but he has three thouſand militia at his diſpoſal, who are aſſembled and exerciſed for one month in every year. The whole of this corps, both officers and private men, ſerve without pay; nor are the poſts leſs ſolicited for on that account. They intitle thoſe who obtain them to ſome diſtinctions of rank, of which people are more eager in this iſland, than in any other part of the world.

Voyages of the Portugueſe to the continent of Africa.

AFTER the diſcovery of Madeira, the Portugueſe directed their flag towards the weſtern parts of Africa. It has generally been thought that they were the firſt Europeans who landed on theſe barbarous coaſts. It appears, however, that the Normans had been there more than a century before them; and that theſe navigators, whoſe expeditions are but too little known, had formed ſome trifling ſettlements there, which had ſubſiſted till the year 1410. At this period, the calamities in which France was involved, withdrew the at-

* 112,500 l.

tention

tention of theſe people from advantages obtained at ſo great a diſtance.

THE firſt expeditions of the Portugueſe into Guinea were nothing more than piracies. Theſe bold and cruel navigators, clothed in ſteel, and armed with thunder, ſnatched from the hands of a people who were aſtoniſhed, divided, and daſtardly, the benefits that nature or chance had beſtowed upon them. Rapine, carried to ſo monſtrous an exceſs, was at length put an end to; and this was, when the people came to underſtand each other. Then it was that trade ſucceeded to plunder; and ſome exchanges were made, which, however, were ſeldom conducted with entire freedom, or founded on ſtrict juſtice. At length, the court of Liſbon thought that its intereſt, as well as its glory, was concerned, in ſubjecting thoſe that were ſuppoſed to be the moſt fertile parts of this extenſive region to its own empire; and the execution of this project, more brilliant, perhaps, than it was wiſe, met with few obſtacles. In order to give a degree of ſtability to theſe conqueſts, it was judged neceſſary to multiply fortreſſes, to diffuſe the religion of Europe throughout the country, and to keep the natives in perpetual ignorance.

IN the reign of John II. an intelligent prince, who firſt declared Liſbon a free port, and under whoſe auſpices a new method was adopted of applying aſtronomy to navigation, the Portugueſe doubled the Cape, which is at the extremity of Africa. It was then called the Cape of Storms; but the prince, who foreſaw that it would open a paſſage

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passage to India, gave it the name of the Cape of Good Hope.

Arrival of the Portuguese in the East Indies.

EMANUEL pursued the plan marked out by his predecessors. On the 18th of July 1497, he sent out a fleet consisting of four ships, and gave the command of it to *Vasco de Gama*. This admiral, having weathered several storms in his cruise along the eastern coasts of Africa, and attempted seas before unknown, landed at length in Indostan, after a voyage of thirteen months.

A geographical description of Asia.

ASIA, of which Indostan is one of the richest parts, is a vast continent, lying, according to the observations of the Russians, the truth of which has been justly doubted, between the 43d and the 207th degree of longitude. It extends, in a direction from one pole to the other, from the 77th degree of northern to the 10th degree of southern latitude. That part of this large continent which is situated in the temperate zone, between the 35th and 50th degree of latitude, appears to be higher than the rest: it is bordered both towards the north and south by two vast chains of mountains, which run almost from the western extremity of Asia Minor and the coasts of the Black Sea, to the ocean that washes the coasts of China and Tartary towards the east. These two chains are united by other intermediate chains, in a direction from south to north; they branch out towards the Northern, the Indian, and Eastern oceans, and appear like so many bulwarks raised between the beds of the large rivers which roll through these immense regions.

SUCH

SUCH is the great baſis which nature has raiſed to ſupport the fabric of Aſia. In the inland parts of this vaſt country, the earth is nothing more than a movable ſand, yielding to the impulſe of the winds; there is not the leaſt appearance either of calcareous ſtone or marble; no petrified ſhells, or other foſſils, are to be found; the beds of minerals lie upon the ſurface. All theſe phænomena, joined to the obſervations made with the barometer, are proofs of the great elevation of this central part of Aſia, to which the moderns have given the name of the Little Bucharia.

FROM theſe heights, which form a kind of girdle, ſurrounding this immenſe and unfruitful region, ſeveral large ſtreams ariſe that run in different channels. The fragments of barren earth, which are perpetually carried down by theſe rivers towards the ſeveral extremities of Aſia, form ſo many barriers againſt the ſea, and promiſe a ſtability and duration to this continent, ſuperior to that of any other. Perhaps it will be its fate to ſee the reſt repeatedly buried under the waters, before it ſuffers any encroachment itſelf.

THE Caſpian ſea alone has preſerved its ſtation within the limits of this vaſt tract of land, which has been emerging from the deep through a ſeries of ages. It is evidently the reſervoir of thoſe large rivers that fall into it. Some philoſophers have imagined, but without any foundation, that it communicated with the ocean and the Black Sea by ſubterraneous paſſages. Againſt ſuch conjectures it may be urged, that the evaporation would be ſufficient to carry off the water, as faſt as it was conveyed

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conveyed there by the rivers; and that theſe ſubterraneous paſſages might eaſily be obſtructed by the mud and ſand which the waters would carry along with them. It is for this reaſon alſo that the Caſpian ſea is ſalt, as all the lakes are which receive the waters of rivers without pouring them out again. It appears certain from the obſervations made with the barometer at Aſtracan, that the ſurface of the Caſpian is below the level of the two neighbouring ſeas; conſequently, it is equally probable, that it ſhould communicate with thoſe ſeas by overflowings from their ſurface; as that it ſhould furniſh them with water by means of ſubterraneous canals.

THE frozen ocean, which extends along the northern coaſts of Siberia, renders them inacceſſible, if we may believe the accounts given by the Ruſſians. They tell us, that it is in vain to expect to find a new paſſage by this ſea from Europe to America; and that the ice will always prevent the doubling of the Cape of Schalaginſkoi, which ſeparates the old from the new world, though this paſſage has once been croſſed. But the Ruſſians are probably not ſincere enough, or not ſufficiently informed, to deſerve entire credit; and either tell us more or leſs than the truth.

THE Indian ocean, which bears towards the ſouth of Aſia, is divided from the great ſouth ſea by a chain of mountains, which begins at the iſland of Madagaſcar, and extending under water as far as Sumatra (as is evident from the ſhallows and rocks which are ſcattered in thoſe parts), unites again at Van Diemen's Land and New Guinea. M. Buache,

ache, a geographer, who has examined the earth as a natural philoſopher, and has laid down a chart of the world according to this hypotheſis, is of opinion, that the ſea between this long chain of iſlands and the ſouthern coaſts of Aſia, ſhould be divided into three great baſons; the limits of which ſeem to have been circumſcribed or drawn by the hand of nature.

THE firſt, lying towards the weſt, between Arabia and Perſia, is bounded to the ſouth by that chain of iſlands, which extends from Cape Comorin and the Maldivia Iſlands to Madagaſcar. This baſon, which runs into the land, is inceſſantly enlarging the gulph of Perſia and the Red Sea. The ſecond of theſe baſons forms the gulph of Bengal. The third includes the great Archipelago, which contains the Sunda, the Moluccas, and the Philippine Iſlands. This joins Aſia to the ſouthern continent, which ſerves as a kind of ſupport to the Pacific Ocean. Between this ſea and the great Archipelago, a kind of new baſon is formed by a chain of mountains under water towards the eaſt, which extends from the Ladrone to the Japan Iſlands. When we have paſſed theſe celebrated iſlands, we come to a chain of iſlands called the Kuriles, which touch the ſouthern point of the peninſula of Kamtſchatka; and form a fifth baſon into which the river Amur empties itſelf; but as its entrance is obſtructed by the bamboos, which grow there in great abundance, it is imagined that this ſea has very little depth.

THESE geographical details, far from being foreign to our purpoſe, are in a manner neceſſary to direct

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direct and engage our attention to the richeſt and fineſt continent upon the globe. We will begin with Indoſtan.

Natural hiſtory of Indoſtan.

THOUGH by the general name of the Eaſt Indies is commonly underſtood that immenſe tract of land which lies beyond the Arabian ſea and the Perſian empire; yet by Indoſtan is properly meant a country lying between two celebrated rivers, the Indus and the Ganges, which fall into the Indian ocean, at the diſtance of four hundred leagues from each other. A ridge of high mountains runs acroſs this long tract from north to ſouth, and dividing it into two equal parts, extends as far as Cape Comorin, where it forms the boundary between the coaſts of Malabar and Coromandel.

IT is a remarkable circumſtance, and perhaps the only one of the kind, that this ridge ſeems to be a barrier, erected by nature, to ſeparate one ſeaſon from another. The mere breadth of theſe mountains divides ſummer from winter, that is to ſay, the ſeaſon of fine weather from that of rain; for it is well known there is no winter between the tropics: all that is meant by winter in India is that time of the year when the clouds, which the ſun attracts from the ſea, are driven violently by the winds againſt the mountains, where they break and diſſolve in rain, accompanied with frequent ſtorms. From hence torrents are formed, which ruſh from the hills, ſwell the rivers, and overflow the vallies; dark vapours, that obſcure the day, and ſpread a thick and impenetrable gloom over the deluged country: but, as the chaos which

which brooded over the principles of things before the creation, this cloudy ſeaſon promotes fertility; for at this time the plants and flowers appear in full ſtrength and beauty, and the fruits in general come to maturity.

THE ſummer may naturally be expected to preſerve its uſual temperature better than the winter, in a climate ſo immediately under the influence of the ſun: the ſky, without a cloud to intercept its rays, ſeems to be all on fire; but the ſea-breezes which ſpring up in the day-time, and the land-breezes that blow during the night, alternately alleviate the heat of the atmoſphere; yet the calms, that now and then intervene, ſtifle theſe refreſhing gales, and the inhabitants are reduced to ſuffer the inconveniences of exceſſive drought.

THE effect of the two different ſeaſons is ſtill more remarkably felt in the two Indian oceans, where they are diſtinguiſhed by the name of the dry and rainy monſoons. While the ſea that waſhes the coaſts of Malabar is agitated by ſtorms, which the returning ſun introduces with the ſpring, the ſlighteſt veſſels ſail ſecurely along the coaſt of Coromandel upon a ſmooth ſurface, and require neither ſkill nor precaution in their pilots; but in the autumn, which, in its turn, changes the face of the elements, the weſtern coaſt enjoys a perfect calm, while the eaſtern Indian ocean is toſſed by tempeſts; each experiencing, as it were, the alternatives of peace and war. An inhabitant of the iſland of Ceylon, who contemplates the equatorial region at the two equinoxes, beholds the ſeas on the right hand and on the left,

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alternately agitated with ſtorms, or lulled into tranquillity; as if the Author of Nature, in theſe two inſtants of equilibrium, turned at once the ſcales of good and evil, which he holds perpetually in his hands. It is not improbable, that in India, where the two empires of good and evil are divided only by a partition of mountains, the doctrine of the two principles might take its riſe: a doctrine, which will never perhaps be entirely effaced from the mind of man, while he remains ignorant of the profound views of the Almighty Being who created the univerſe. Till a number of obſcure queſtions can be reſolved, reſpecting the neceſſity of creating the world at a certain period of time; reſpecting the ſeeming imperfections in this moſt admirable ſyſtem of things; reſpecting the ſufferings of the good, and the proſperity of the wicked; reſpecting the numberleſs calamities of nature which fall indiſcriminately upon the innocent as well as on the guilty; man will ſtill be inclined to worſhip Oromaſis or Arima, in proportion as he has experienced the effects of good or evil in this life: ſince pain and pleaſure ſeem to be as much the origin of the different forms of worſhip, as they are of the ideas of mankind. There is ſo infinite a connection between natural and moral principles, that all ſyſtems of importance to the happineſs of the human ſpecies have taken their colour from the nature of the climate: accordingly, it is obſervable, that the Indians, whoſe imaginations receive the deepeſt impreſſion of nature from the more forcible operation of good and evil, and the view they conſtantly

ſtantly have of the diſcord of the elements, are placed in a ſituation moſt fertile in revolutions, events, and tranſactions of every kind.

Antiquity of Indoſtan.

HENCE it is, that the celebrated countries of India have long engaged the attention of the philoſopher and the hiſtorian, whoſe conjectures have aſſigned to their earlieſt inhabitants an æra of the moſt extraordinary antiquity. To ſay the truth, whether we conſult hiſtorical records, or conſider the poſition of Indoſtan upon the globe, connected as it is by a chain of mountains to the moſt elevated part of the continent, which is alſo at the greateſt diſtance from the encroachments of the ſea; we ſhall readily acknowledge, that the inhabitants of this country are placed in a greater ſtate of ſecurity than in any other part of the globe, and that Indoſtan has been that part of the earth that was firſt inhabited. We may trace the origin of moſt of the ſciences in the hiſtory of that country. Even before the age of Pythagoras, the Greeks travelled to India for inſtruction; the trade carried on by the Indians with the oldeſt commercial nations, in exchange for their cloth, is a proof of their great progreſs in the arts of induſtry.

UPON the whole, it ſhould ſeem reaſonable to conclude, that a part of the globe, the beſt adapted to the human ſpecies, would be peopled the earlieſt; and that the firſt men would be induced to fix their abode in a delicious climate, pure air, and on a ſoil too fertile to require much cultivation. If the human race could be ſuppoſed to multiply and extend themſelves in thoſe

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horrid regions, where they muſt maintain a perpetual ſtruggle with nature: if they could inhabit burning ſands, impracticable moraſſes, and regions of perpetual ice; or frequent deſerts and foreſts, where they muſt defend themſelves againſt the violence of the elements, and the attacks of wild beaſts: how eaſily might they not form themſelves into ſocieties in theſe delightful countries, where mankind, exempt from neceſſity, has nothing to purſue but pleaſure; where, enjoying without labour or anxiety the choiceſt productions, and the moſt glorious proſpect of the great ſcene of nature, they might juſtly aſſume the diſtinguiſhing title of Lords of the Creation! Theſe beautiful ſcenes preſent themſelves on the banks of the Ganges, and in the plains of Indoſtan. The air is perfumed with the moſt delicious fruits, which afford a wholeſome and refreſhing nouriſhment; the trees form a ſhade impenetrable to the rays of the ſun. While the living animals that are diſperſed over the globe, cannot ſubſiſt in other parts without deſtroying each other, they ſhare in India, in common with their maſter, the ſweets of plenty and ſecurity. Even at this day, when the earth may be ſuppoſed to have been exhauſted by the productions of ſo many ages, and their conſumption in foreign countries, Indoſtan, if we except a few ſandy and barren diſtricts, is ſtill the moſt fruitful country in the world.

Religion, government, legiſlation, manners, and cuſtoms of Indoſtan.

THE ſyſtem of morals in this country is no leſs extraordinary than that of nature. When we fix our eyes on this vaſt region, where nature hath exerted her utmoſt efforts for the happineſs of man,

man, we cannot but regret that man hath done all in his power to oppoſe her. The rage of conqueſt, and what is no leſs deſtructive an evil, the greedineſs of traders, have, in their turns, ravaged and oppreſſed the fineſt country on the face of the globe.

Among the numbers of ſavage banditti, and other ſtrangers, whom war or the deſire of gain has invited to India, it is eaſy to diſtinguiſh the ancient inhabitants. There is not, however, ſo much difference in the caſt of complexion and outward appearance of theſe people, as in the particularities of their character; oppreſſed as they have been with the yoke of tyranny, or rather of the wildeſt anarchy, they have not adopted either the manners, the laws, or the religion of their maſters. Their continual experience of all the horrors of war, all the exceſſes and vices of which human nature is capable, has not tainted their character. Nothing has ever been able to reconcile the tender, humane, and timorous Indian to ſcenes of blood, or to animate him with the courage and ſpirit of rebellion. His vices ariſe ſolely from a weak mind.

The judicious traveller, who, paſſing over the plains of Egypt, ſees trunks of columns, mutilated ſtatues, broken entablatures, and immenſe pyramids that have eſcaped the ravages of war and time, diſperſed about the country, is loſt in admiration at the view of the ruins of a nation which no longer exiſts. He cannot now find out the ſituation of Thebes, that city ſo celebrated in antiquity for its hundred gates; but the vene-

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rable remains of its temples and of its tombs, give him a higher idea of its magnificence than the deſcriptions of Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus.

When we attentively examine the accounts given by travellers of the manners of the natives of India, we ſeem to wander among heaps of ruins, the remains of an immenſe fabric. The original form is loſt, but enough is preſerved to convince us of the magnificence and regularity of the plans. Amidſt a variety of abſurd ſuperſtitions, puerile and extravagant cuſtoms, ſtrange ceremonies and prejudices, we may diſcover the veſtiges of ſublime morality, deep philoſophy, and refined policy; but when we attempt to trace the religious and civil inſtitutions to their origin, we find that it is loſt in the maze of antiquity. By the moſt ancient traditions, the Indians appear to have been the firſt who received the rudiments of ſcience, and the poliſh of civilization.

The emperor Mahmoud Akbar had an inclination to make himſelf acquainted with the principles of all the religious ſects throughout his extenſive provinces. Having diſcarded the ſuperſtitious notions with which he had been prepoſſeſſed by his education in the Mohammedan faith, he reſolved to judge for himſelf. It was eaſy for him to be acquainted with the nature of thoſe ſyſtems that are formed upon the plan of making proſelytes; but he found himſelf diſappointed in his deſign, when he came to treat with the Indians, who will not admit any perſon whatever to the participation of their myſteries.

Neither

NEITHER the authority nor promiſes of Akbar could prevail with the Bramins to diſcloſe the tenets of their religion; he was therefore obliged to have recourſe to artifice. The ſtratagem he made uſe of was, to cauſe an infant, of the name of Feizi, to be committed to the care of theſe prieſts, as a poor orphan of the ſacerdotal line, who alone could be initiated into the ſacred rites of their theology. Feizi, having received the proper inſtructions for the part he was to act, was conveyed privately to Benares, the ſeat of knowledge in Indoſtan; he was received into the houſe of a learned Bramin, who educated him with the ſame care as if he had been his ſon. After the youth had ſpent ten years in ſtudy, Akbar was deſirous of recalling him; but he was ſtruck with the charms of the daughter of his preceptor.

THE women of the ſacerdotal tribe are looked upon as the greateſt beauties in Indoſtan. The old Bramin laid no reſtraint on the growing paſſion of the two lovers; he was fond of Feizi, who had gained his affection by his addreſs and docility, and offered him his daughter in marriage. The young man, divided between love and gratitude, reſolved to conceal the fraud no longer; and falling at the feet of the Bramin, diſcovered the impoſture, and aſked pardon for his offence.

THE prieſt, without reproaching him in the leaſt, ſeized a poniard which hung at his girdle, and was going to plunge it in his breaſt, if Feizi had not prevented him by taking hold of his arm. The young man uſed every means to pacify him, and declared himſelf ready to do any thing to ex-

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piate his treachery. The Bramin, burſting into tears, promiſed to pardon him on condition that he ſhould ſwear never to tranſlate the *Bedas*, or ſacred volumes, or diſcioſe to any perſon whatever the ſymbol of the Bramin creed. Feizi readily promiſed all that the Bramin required: and it is probable that he kept his word.

FROM time immemorial, the Bramins ſole depoſitaries of the books, learning, and regulations, civil as well as religious, had kept them as a ſecret which the appearance of death, accompanied with torture, could never force them to diſcloſe. There was no kind of terror, no means of ſeduction, to which they had not reſiſted; when very lately, Mr. Haſtings, Governor General of the India Company ſettled at Bengal, the moſt enlightened man of all the Europeans who have viſited the Eaſt, became poſſeſſed of the Indian Code. He bribed ſome of the Bramins, and made others ſenſible of the ridicule and the inconveniencies of this myſterious reſerve. Thoſe old men whom experience and ſtudy had raiſed above the prejudices of their caſt, liſtened to his repreſentations, in hopes of obtaining a freer exerciſe of their religion and laws. Theſe perſons amounted to eleven in number; the eldeſt of whom was more than fourſcore years of age, and the youngeſt not leſs than five and thirty. They conſulted eighteen original Shanſcrit authors; and the collection of ſentences they gathered from them being tranſlated into Perſian, under the inſpection of the Bramins, was turned from Perſian into Engliſh, by Mr. Halhed. The compilers

pilers of the code unanimouſly refuſed agreeing to two propoſals; one to ſuppreſs ſome ſcandalous paragraphs, the other to inſtruct Mr. Halhed in the ſacred dialect, ſo true it is that the ſpirit of prieſthood is every where the ſame; and that at all times the prieſt, either from motives of intereſt, or pride, is deſirous of keeping the people in ignorance. In order that the work might appear with every poſſible accuracy, and that it might have every ſanction that could be expected, the moſt learned of the Pundits, or Bramin lawyers, were called up from different parts of Bengal. The abridged hiſtory of the creation of the world, and of the firſt formation of the caſts, ſuch as theſe religious compilers have related it at the head of this civil code, is compriſed in the following terms:

Brama delights in the peculiar form of worſhip that is obſerved in different countries. He attends to the pious man in the moſque, who counts his beads over while he ſays his prayers. He is preſent in the temples, and at the adoration of the idols. He is the intimate of the Muſſulman, and the friend of the Indian; the companion of the Chriſtian, and the confidant of the Jew. Thoſe men whom he hath endowed with an elevated ſoul, ſee nothing in the oppoſition of ſects and the diverſity of religious worſhips, but one of the effects of the richneſs he hath diſplayed in the work of the creation.

The Principle of Truth, or the Supreme Being, having firſt formed the earth, and the heavens, and the water, and the fire, and the air,

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produced Brama. Brama is the Spirit of God. He is abſorbed in ſelf-contemplation. He is preſent in every part of ſpace. He is one, and to him there is no ſecond. His omniſcience is ſelf-inſpired, or ſelf-intelligent, and its comprehenſion includes every poſſible ſpecies. He is ſubject to no change, nor to the diſtinctions of paſt, preſent, and future. He is an independent being, and ſeparated from the univerſe. By this omniſcient ſpirit, the operations of God are enlivened, and the twenty-four powers of Nature are animated. As the eye by the ſun, as the pot by the fire, as iron by the magnet, as fire by the fuel, as the ſhadow by the man, as duſt by the wind, as the arrow by the ſpring of the bow, and as the ſhade by the tree; ſo by this ſpirit the world is endued with the powers of intellect, the powers of the will, and the powers of action. If this ſpirit emanate from the heart, by the channel of the ear, it cauſeth the perception of ſounds; if it emanate from the heart by the channel of the ſkin, it cauſeth the perception of the touch; if it emanate from the heart by the channel of the eye, it cauſeth the perception of viſible objects; if it emanate from the heart by the channel of the tongue, it cauſeth the perception of taſte; if it emanate from the heart by the channel of the noſe, it cauſeth the perception of ſmell. This ſpirit alſo invigorating the five members of action, and invigorating the five members of perception, and invigorating the five elements, and invigorating the five ſenſes, and invigorating the three diſpoſitions of the mind, &c. cauſeth the creation, or the

the annihilation of the univerſe; while itſelf beholds every thing as an indifferent ſpectator. Such is the doctrine of the Reig Beid.

BRAMA afterwards created from his mouth, wiſdom, or the Bramin; whoſe office is to pray, to read, and to inſtruct; from his arms he created ſtrength, or the Chehteree, whoſe buſineſs it is to draw the bow, to fight, and to govern; from his belly and thighs he created nouriſhment, or the Bice, to provide the neceſſaries of life by agriculture and traffic; and from his feet he created ſubjection, or the Sooder, to labour, to ſerve, and to travel.

THE diſtinction of the four firſt Caſts is therefore as ancient as the world, and of divine inſtitution.

BRAMA afterwards produced in the world mankind, which were to fill up theſe four caſts; and beaſts innumerable, and birds, and vegetables, and all inanimate things, and the virtues and the vices. He preſcribed to each caſt its duties, and theſe duties are for ever recorded in the ſacred books.

THE firſt magiſtrate or ſovereign choſen by Brama, had an iniquitous ſucceſſor, who perverted the order of ſociety, by authoriſing the intermixture of the men and women of the four caſts which Brama had inſtituted; a ſacrilegious conjunction from which proceeded the fifth caſt, or tribe, called that of Burrun Sunker, which produced a multitude of others. The Bramins, incenſed at this, put him to death. When the kingdom was thus without a magiſtrate, the Bramins rubbed the two hands of the dead body, and from

BOOK I. from his right there ſprang two ſons, one a ſovereign, or warrior, the other a Bramin; while from his left hand they raiſed a daughter, whom they married to her brother the warrior, on whom they alſo conferred the ſupreme magiſtracy. This ſovereign had conceived the deſign of putting the tribe of Burrun Sunker, with all its branches, to death. The Bramins diſſuaded him from it; and adviſed him to aſſemble all the individuals that compoſed it, and aſſign to them their ſeveral occupations, in the ſciences, the arts, and the trades, which they and their deſcendants were to exerciſe in perpetuity.

FROM this account it is evident, that the Bramin was ſo much elated with his origin, that he would have thought it degrading to him, to aſpire to the magiſtracy, or ſovereignty, and that the people are made to revere their chains, by their being loaded with them in the name of the Deity. There never was an Indian who attempted to leave the caſt in which he was born. The diſtribution of the Indians into caſts, each ſuperior to the other, is a mark of the deepeſt corruption, and the moſt ancient ſyſtem of ſlavery. It diſcovers an unjuſt and diſguſting pre-eminence of the prieſthood over all other ranks of ſociety, and a ſtupid inattention to the firſt legiſlator, to the general good of the nation.

THE ſacred annals of the Indians bear date from the remoteſt antiquity, and are carried down without interruption to the moſt modern times. They make no mention of that moſt memorable and moſt dreadful of all events, the deluge: for the

the Bramins pretend that their ſacred books are written before that period, and that this calamity did not extend itſelf over Indoſtan. They reckon the duration of the world by four Jogues, or diſtinct ages.

1. THE Suttee Jogue (or age of purity) is ſaid to have laſted three millions two hundred thouſand years; and they hold that the life of man was in that age extended to one hundred thouſand years, and that his ſtature was twenty-one cubits.

2. THE Tirtâh Jogue (or age in which one third of mankind were reprobate) they ſuppoſe to have conſiſted of two millions four hundred thouſand years, and that men then lived to the age of ten thouſand years.

3. THE Dwâpâar Jogue (in which half of the human race became depraved) endured one million ſix hundred thouſand years, and men's lives were reduced to one thouſand years.

4. THE Collee Jogue (in which all mankind are corrupted, or rather leſſened, for that is the true meaning of Collee) is the preſent æra, which they ſuppoſe ordained to ſubſiſt for four hundred thouſand years, of which near fifty thouſand are already paſſed, and man's life in this period is limited to one hundred.

THIS opinion of the preſent age being the moſt corrupt, prevails univerſally in all parts of the world. The century in which we live is conſidered every where as the refuſe of all the centuries: as if vice and virtue were not coeval with man and the exiſtence of the world.

THE

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THE Pundits, or Bramin lawyers, ſtill ſpeak the original language in which theſe ordinances were compoſed, and which is entirely unknown to the bulk of the people. The Bramins ſpeak and write the Shanſcrit language, which is very copious and nervous, but the ſtyle of the beſt authors is wonderfully conciſe. The grammatical rules alſo are numerous and difficult, though there are not many anomalies. The Shanſcrit alphabet contains fifty letters. The declenſions in this language are ſeven in number, and have each a ſingular, a dual, and a plural number. Among the ſyllables, ſome are ſhort, ſhorter, and very ſhort; others long, longer, and very long; ſome again, are acute, more acute, and moſt acute; others grave, more grave, and moſt grave. It is an idiom of notes and modulation. The laſt ſyllable of the word *bĕdĕrōō* is a kind of organ note that is held for near a minute. The Shanſcrit poetry comprehends a very great variety of different metres; and the verſification has the ſame kinds of feet, and is attended with as many difficulties as thoſe that occur in other languages, rhime not excepted. The poems are generally compoſed in ſtanzas, the ſubject of which is uſually moral. *A father in debt is an enemy to his ſon.—A mother of ſcandalous behaviour is an enemy to her ſon.—A wife of a beautiful figure is an enemy to her huſband.—A ſon of no learning is an enemy to his parents.*

THE following is a ſpecimen of one of their poems:

From

From the inſatiable deſire of riches, I have digged beneath the earth; I have ſought by chymiſtry to tranſmute the metals of the mountains.

I have traverſed the Queen of the Oceans; I have toiled inceſſant for the gratification of monarchs.

I have renounced the world to give up my whole heart to the ſtudy of incantations; I have paſſed whole nights on the places where the dead are burnt.

I have not gained one cowry.—Begone, O Avarice! thy buſineſs is over.

A LANGUAGE ſo difficult, and brought to ſuch a degree of perfection, neceſſarily implies a long ſucceſſion of years. At the time that the Shanſcrit was written and ſpoken, the ſeven days of the week were already marked, and the names of the ſeven planets were known in their proper order; the ſugar cane was already cultivated; chymiſtry was known; and wildfire had been invented. Fire arms were then in uſe, and a kind of dart or arrow tipt with fire is deſcribed, which, after it had taken its flight, divided into ſeveral ſeparate darts or ſtreams of flame, each of which took effect, and when once kindled, could not be extinguiſhed. A weapon of this ſort is alſo ſpoken of, which was capable of killing a hundred men at once. But it is chiefly in the civil code of the Indians which we are going to enter upon, that we find the ſtrongeſt teſtimonies of the incredible antiquity of this nation.

WE are therefore, at length, in poſſeſſion of theſe laws of a people from whom all others ſeem to have derived their inſtruction; and who, ſince their eſtabliſhment, have experienced no other alterations

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terations in their manners and prejudices than ſuch as are inſeparable from the character of man, and the influence of the times.

THE civil code of the Indians opens with the duties of the ſovereign or magiſtrate. We read in ſeparate paragraphs; *that he ſhould be beloved and reſpected; that he ſhould be well informed, and ſteady, and make himſelf feared; that he ſhould treat his ſubjects as his children; protect merit and reward virtue; that he ſhould ſhew himſelf to his people; that he ſhould not practiſe the drinking of wine; but that he ſhould learn firſt to be maſter of himſelf. Neither ſhall he be ſeduced by the pleaſures of the chace, nor perpetually addicted to play. In all caſes he ſhall ſpare and excuſe the Bramins. He ſhall give a particular encouragement to agriculture. He ſhall not incroach upon the property of the meaneſt of his ſubjects. If he be victorious in war, he ſhall return thanks to the Gods of the country, and ſhall give the ſpoils of the enemy to the Bramins. He ſhall not retain in his ſervice a great number of buffoons, or paraſites, and jeſters, and dancers, and athletics. If he cannot apprehend the thief, the injury done ſhall be repaired at his own expence. If he ſhould collect the accuſtomed tribute from his ſubjects, without protecting or taking care of them, he will go to hell. If he ſhould take to himſelf any part of a pious legacy or donation, he will remain in hell one thouſand years. He muſt know, that in a kingdom where men of a certain rank frequent proſtitutes, or practiſe the drinking of wine, ſuch kingdom becomes deſolate. If any perſon, excluſive of the magiſtrate's counſellors, be acquainted with the deſigns of the magiſtrate, his magiſtracy is not of a long*

long duration. He ſhall not take counſel of a weak and old man or of a woman. When he is deſirous of conſulting with his counſellors, he ſhall chooſe a retired place, on the top of the houſe, or on the top of a mountain, or in the deſert, or in ſome ſuch ſecret receſs; and in places where there are parrots or other talkative birds, he ſhall not hold his counſel while they are preſent.

IF in the whole code there were no other indication than that ſingle line upon pious donations, it would be ſufficient to ſhew the hand of the prieſt in its compilation. But what advantages can we ſuppoſe to ariſe from the entertainment of buffoons, dancers, and jeſters at the court of the magiſtrate; unleſs it be for the purpoſe of relaxation from his more painful functions; or to divert him after his ſerious occupations?

WHAT an infinite number of combined qualities are neceſſary to the formation of a civil code, eſpecially for the uſe of an extenſive nation! A profound knowledge of man, of the climate, of religion, of manners, of cuſtoms, of prejudices, of natural juſtice, of rights, of affinities, of conditions, of things, of duties in all ſtations, and of the due proportion between crimes and puniſhments! What judgment, what impartiality, what experience doth it not require? Is it poſſible to determine whether the code of the Indians has been the work of genius, or the reſult of the wiſe combinations of a ſeries of ages? The deciſion of this queſtion muſt be reſerved for the man who will take the pains to think deeply upon the ſubject.

BOOK I.

THE code begins with regulations on the mutuation of property, which is one of the firſt cements of civil ſociety; and on inheritance, which is the firſt ſtep towards the formation of communities. It then proceeds to rules of juſtice, without which no ſociety can ſubſiſt; and to the forms of adminiſtering it, without which the executive part would be arbitrary. Rules are alſo laid down concerning pledges, diviſions of property, donations, wages, ſlaves; concerning the duties of citizens, of father, mother, children, huſbands and wives; and concerning the wages of dancing and ſinging women. After the diſcuſſion of theſe points, which imply a numerous population, an infinite variety of connections, and a conſummate experience of the wickedneſs of mankind, the code treats of rents and leaſes, of the diviſion of lands and the produce of agriculture, of cities and towns, of fines, of injuries and quarrels of all kinds, of empirics, of ſharpers, of theft, in which that of perſons is included, of incontinence and adultery; and every one of theſe articles is entered into with a ſpirit of detail which comprehends the moſt ordinary kinds of delinquency, as well as thoſe which are more uncommon, and appear even chimerical. Almoſt every point has been foreſeen with judgment, diſtinguiſhed with ſagacity, and preſcribed, forbidden, or puniſhed with juſtice. Among this multitude of laws, we ſhall only take notice of thoſe which characterize the early periods of the nation, and which are calculated to ſtrike us either by their wiſdom, or by their ſingularity.

IT is prohibited to lend money to women, children, or ſervants. The intereſt upon a loan increaſes in proportion to the inferiority which the caſt of the borrower holds in the ranks of the ſtate: an inhuman kind of policy, in which the ſecurity of the rich has been more attended to than the wants of the poor. Whatever may be the duration of the loan, the arrears of intereſt ſhall riſe no higher than double the principal. If a perſon mortgages the ſame land to two mortgagees, he ſhall be puniſhed with death: this is juſt; for it is a ſpecies of theft. The creditor may ſeize upon an inſolvent debtor of the inferior tribes, confine him in his houſe, and oblige him to work for his benefit. This is a leſs cruel practice than to throw him into a priſon, and make him lie upon ſtraw.

A WOMAN of bad morals, a childleſs widow, a barren wife, a man who has no principles of religion, an eunuch, an ideot, a man baniſhed from his caſt, or expelled from his family, one who is born blind or deaf, a dumb man, an impotent man, one who is ſeized with a conſumption or a leproſy, or one who has ſmitten his father: all ſuch perſons are incapable of inheritance. But whoever ſhall ſuperſede theſe perſons in the inheritance of bequeathed property, muſt allow them victuals and clothing.

THE Indians do not make wills. Their claims and rights are determined by the degrees of affinity.

THE ſhare of the child who has profited by his education, ſhall be double to that of the ignorant child.

* 34 is not just.

BOOK I.

ALMOST all the laws of the code, which concern property, ſucceſſion, and diſtribution, are conformable to the Roman laws; becauſe reaſon and equity are of all ages, and dictate the ſame regulations, unleſs they be thwarted by capricious cuſtoms or extravagant prejudices, the origin of which is loſt in the obſcurity of remote times; while their antiquity ſupports them againſt the rules of common ſenſe, and the vain efforts of the legiſlator.

IF an injuſtice be committed in a tribunal, the fault ſhall fall upon all the parties concerned in the action, the judge himſelf not excepted. It were to be wiſhed that this rule might obtain in all courts of judicature, and that the judge might be made a party in the caſe. If he ſhould have judged ill from incapacity, he is culpable; if from iniquity, he is ſtill more guilty.

THE code, after having condemned the falſe witneſs to the ſame puniſhment that would have been inflicted on the perſon accuſed, admits of a falſe teſtimony for the preſervation of a man's life, againſt a true evidence that would deprive him of it. What an unaccountable mixture of wiſdom and folly!

A HUSBAND in diſtreſs may deliver up his wife, if ſhe conſent; and a father may ſell his ſon, if he have ſeveral. Of theſe two laws, the firſt is infamous, as it reduces the mother of a family to the condition of a proſtitute; the ſecond is inhuman, as it reduces a ſon to the ſtate of a ſlave.

THE

THE different claſſes of ſlaves are enormouſly multiplied among the Indians; and the law admits of their enfranchiſement, which is performed with a particular kind of ceremony. "The ſlave "ſhall fill a pitcher with water, and put in it "ſome rice cleanſed without boiling, ſome flowers, "and a kind of ſmall ſalad; and taking the pitcher "upon his ſhoulder, ſhall ſtand near his maſter; "and the maſter, putting the pitcher upon the "ſlave's head, ſhall then break the pitcher, ſo "that the water, rice, flowers and ſalad that were "in the pitcher may fall upon the ſlave's body; "after that, the maſter ſhall three times pro-"nounce the words, *I have made you free.* Upon "this ſpeech the ſlave aforeſaid ſhall take ſome "ſteps towards the eaſt; whereupon he ſhall be "free."

IF a man kill an animal, ſuch as a horſe, a goat, or a camel, one hand and one foot ſhall be cut off from him; by this law we ſee that man is put upon a par with the brute creation. If he kill a tyger, a bear, or a ſerpent, he ſhall pay a pecuniary fine. The ranking of theſe things among offences, is the ſuperſtitious conſequence of the metempſycoſis, which, conſidering the body of an animal as being the reſidence of a human ſoul, looks upon the violent death of a reptile as a ſpecies of murder. It is a cuſtom with a Bramin, before he ſits down on the ground, to ſweep the place with the lappet of his gown, and to ſay to God: *As I have extended my benevolence to the ant, ſo I hope thou wilt pour down thine upon me.*

BOOK I.

POPULATION is holden as a primary duty, and as an order of nature ſo ſacred, that the code allows the practice of deceit, of lying, and of perjury, for the purpoſe of completing a wedding. This is a diſhoneſt action practiſed every where, but which was never legally authoriſed except among the Indians. Would it not be a mark of wiſdom in the legiſlator, to authoriſe, in many other inſtances, what he can neither prevent nor puniſh?

ALL the religious ſyſtems of Aſia admit of polygamy, and ſome of them ſuffer a plurality of huſbands. In the kingdoms of Boutan and the Thibet, one woman frequently ſerves for a whole family, without creating the leaſt jealouſy or domeſtic confuſion.

VIRGINITY is a condition eſſential to the validity of the conjugal union. The woman is under the deſpotic ſway of her huſband. The Indian code ſays, *That a woman ſhould by no means be miſtreſs of her own actions; for if ſhe have her own free will, ſhe will always behave amiſs; and that her virtue is not to be relied upon.* If a woman bring her huſband nothing but daughters, he may be diſpenſed from cohabiting with her. A woman ſhall never go out of the houſe without the conſent of her huſband, and ſhall always have ſome clothes upon her boſom. It is proper for a woman, after her huſband's death, to burn herſelf in the fire with his corpſe; unleſs ſhe be with child, or that her huſband be abſent, or that ſhe cannot get his turban, or his girdle, or unleſs ſhe devote herſelf to chaſtity and celibacy. Every woman who thus burns

burns herſelf, ſhall remain in paradiſe with her huſband for an infinite number of years by deſtiny.

THE legiſlation of the Indians, which might be found too indulgent with reſpect to certain crimes, ſuch as the murder of a ſlave, pederaſty, and beſtiality, for which abſolution could be obtained with money, will certainly appear to bear extremely hard upon the unlawful intercourſe between the two ſexes. This degree of rigour has probably ariſen from the lubricity of the women, and the weakneſs of the men in a burning climate; from the inordinate jealouſy of the latter; from the fear of confounding the caſts; and from the extravagant ideas of continency, propagated in all countries by incontinent prieſts: and it is at the ſame time a proof of the antiquity of the code. In proportion as ſociety increaſes and becomes permanent, corruption is extended; offences, particularly ſuch as ſpring from the nature of the climate, the influence of which never ceaſes, are multiplied; and the puniſhments allotted to them gradually fall into diſuſe; unleſs the code be under the ſanction of the divinity. Our laws have pronounced a ſevere puniſhment for adultery; but who is there that ſuſpects it?

WHAT we call an intercourſe of gallantry, the code calls adultery. There is a ſpecies of adultery that conſiſts in the coquetry of the man or the woman, the penalty for which is pecuniary; the adultery which conſiſts in ſending preſents, is puniſhed in the man by mutilation; and conſummated adultery is puniſhed by death. The daugh-

BOOK I. ter of a Bramin who proſtitutes herſelf is condemned to be burnt. Immodeſt actions, the differences of which are ſpecified by law, becauſe law has no reſtraint, but which decency forbids an hiſtorical writer to mention, are ſubject to dreadful puniſhments. A man of a ſuperior caſt, convicted of having cohabited with a woman of a mean caſt, is to be branded in the forehead with the figure of a man without a head. Other puniſhments of an indecent kind are deviſed for a Bramin convicted of adultery, and his partner in iniquity is put to death.

THE dancing and ſinging girls and the proſtitutes, are formed into communities under the protection of the police. They are employed in ſolemnities; and are ſent out to meet perſons in public capacities. This ſort of people were not holden in ſo much contempt in ancient times as they are at preſent. Before the eſtabliſhment of laws, the ſtate of man differed little from that of the brute; and no prejudice had attached an idea of turpitude to any of our natural functions.

IF a proſtitute ſhould break her word, ſhe ſhall return twice as much money as ſhe has received. If a man hath hired a proſtitute, and ſhall attempt to commit any unnatural act with her, he ſhall give her eight times the ſum ſtipulated, and alſo pay a fine of eight times as much to the magiſtrate. The puniſhment is the ſame, if after having agreed with her for himſelf, he gives her up to other men.

GAMING is not allowed unleſs with leave of the magiſtrate. The money loſt at a game played in ſecret cannot be exacted.

IF

If a man ſtrike a Bramin with his hand, or his foot, he ſhall have his hand or foot cut off.

If a Sooder, or man of the fourth caſt, be convicted of reading the Beids or ſacred books, he ſhall have boiling oil poured into his mouth; if he ſhould liſten to the reading of the Beids of the Shaſter, then the oil, heated as before, ſhall be poured into his ears, and wax ſhall be melted together, and the orifice of his ears ſhall be ſtopped up with it.

If a Sooder ſhall ſit upon the carpet of a Bramin, in that caſe, the magiſtrate, having thruſt a hot iron into his buttock, and branded him, ſhall baniſh him the kingdom; or elſe he ſhall cut off his buttock. Whatever crime a Bramin may have committed, he ſhall not be put to death. The murder of a Bramin is the greateſt crime any man can be guilty of.

The property of a Bramin is ſacred, and cannot paſs into other hands, not even thoſe of the ſovereign. This gives an inſtance of eſtates in mortmain among the Indians, in times of the moſt remote antiquity.

The ſilence of the law upon any point is to be ſupplied by a reprimand. The puniſhment of every fault is increaſed upon repetition. The inſtruments of a man's art or profeſſion, and even thoſe that belong to the dancing girl, or common proſtitute, are not liable to confiſcation. What would an Indian ſay, if he were to ſee our officers of juſtice ſeize upon the furniture in a peaſant's cottage, and put up his oxen, and all his inſtruments of tillage, to public auction?

BOOK I.

To conclude this ſhort analyſis of a code too little known amongſt us, by ſome ſtriking paſſages, we ſhall quote the following reſpecting the magiſtrate: "When a kingdom is preſerved free "from thieves, from adulterers, from murderers, "and from all men of ſuch evil principles, the "magiſtrates of the kingdom go to paradiſe; "and if the magiſtrate always brings ſuch per"ſons to puniſhment, he then alſo goes to para"diſe; and his kingdom is doubled, and his re"putation is increaſed!" And again: "If a magi"ſtrate inflict puniſhment upon the guilty, and "honourably treat the innocent, ſuch a man has "all the requiſites for magiſtracy, and is always "ſucceſsful, and enjoys a good character, and "in the next world goes to paradiſe:" for, ſaith the code, with as much energy as ſimplicity, "Puniſhment is the magiſtrate; puniſhment is "the inſpirer of terror; puniſhment is the nou"riſher of the ſubjects; puniſhment is the de"fender from calamity; puniſhment is the guar"dian of thoſe that ſleep; puniſhment, with a "black aſpect and a red eye, terrifies the guilty."

NOTWITHSTANDING the defects of this code, the moſt ſtriking of which are, too much indulgence to the prieſts, and too much ſeverity againſt women, yet it ſtill ſerves to confirm the high opinions entertained of the wiſdom of the Bramins in the moſt remote ages. Among the number of ſenſible laws with which it abounds, if there be ſome which may appear too lenient or too rigid; ſome which preſcribe mean or indecent actions; and others, again, which inflict heinous puniſh-

puniſhments for ſlight offences, or mild chaſtiſements for crimes of great enormity; yet the wiſe man, before he ventures to cenſure them, will weigh all the circumſtances; and will conſider, that a legiſlator is often compelled by them, to give to the people only the beſt laws they are capable of receiving. He will determine, without heſitation, from the complicated regularity of the Shanſcrit grammar, upon the antiquity of this language formerly in common uſe, but for ſo long a time unknown: and from the formation of a code ſo extenſive as that of the Indians, he will conclude that a great number of ages are elapſed in India, between the barbarous and civilized ſtate of that country; and that the prieſts have been culpable, with reſpect to their own countrymen as well as to foreigners, in keeping up a myſterious reſerve, which has been an univerſal check to the progreſs of civilization.

THE ſeal, however, which cloſed the mouth of the Bramin, is now broken; and we may preſume, that the time is not far diſtant, when all that remains to b eknown of the ancient religion and juriſprudence of the Indians will be revealed. In the mean while, let us examine their preſent ſtate, and furniſh ſome ſtrokes of character that are wanting to complete the deſcription of their policy and their doctrines.

As the Bramins are the only perſons who underſtand the language of the ſacred book, their comments on the text are the ſame as thoſe which have ever been made on religious writings; all the maxims which fancy, intereſt, paſſion, or falſe zeal can

BOOK I.

can ſuggeſt, are to be found in theſe volumes. Theſe excluſive pretenſions of the interpreters of religion have given them that unbounded influence over the people, which impoſtors and fanatics will not fail to exert over men who have not the courage to conſult either their own reaſon, or their own feelings.

FROM the Indus to the Ganges, the *Vedan* is univerſally received as the book that contains the principles of religion; but the generality differ on ſeveral points relative to faith and practice. That ſpirit of debate and refinement, which for ſo many ages has infected the philoſophy of our ſchools, has made ſtill further progreſs among the Bramins, and cauſed more abſurdities in their doctrines than it has introduced into ours, by a mixture of Platoniſm, which is perhaps itſelf derived from the doctrines of the Bramins.

THROUGHOUT all Indoſtan, the laws of government, cuſtoms and manners make a part of religion; becauſe every thing is derived from Brama.

THERE is ſome reaſon to believe that Brama was poſſeſſed of the ſovereign authority; as his religious inſtitutions were evidently deſigned to inſpire the people with a profound reverence and great love for their country, and as they are evidently intended to guard againſt the vices incident to the climate, by ſevere laws. Few religions ſeem to have been ſo well adapted to the countries for which they were calculated.

IT is from Brama that the Indians derive their religious veneration for the three capital rivers of Indoſtan, the Indus, the Criſtina, and the Ganges.

It

It was he who conſecrated the animal that is moſt ſerviceable in the cultivation of land, as well as the cow, whoſe milk is ſo wholeſome a nouriſhment in hot countries. To him they aſcribe the diviſion of the people into tribes or *caſtes*, diſtinguiſhed from each other by their political and religious principles. This inſtitution is antecedent to all traditions and known records, and may be conſidered as the moſt ſtriking proof of the great antiquity of the Indians. Nothing appears more contrary to the natural progreſs of ſocial connections, than this diſtribution of the members of the ſame community into diſtinct claſſes. Such an idea could only be the reſult of a ſtudied plan of legiſlation, which preſuppoſes a great proficiency in civilization and knowledge. Another circumſtance ſtill more extraordinary is, that this diſtinction ſhould continue ſo many ages, after the leading idea and connecting tie was forgotten; which affords us a remarkable example of the ſtrength of national prejudices, when ſanctified by religious ideas.

The difference between the caſts is remarkable at firſt ſight. The members of each tribe have a kind of reſemblance to each other, by which it is impoſſible to miſtake them. They have the ſame habits, the ſame ſhape, the ſame tone of voice, the ſame beauty, or the ſame deformity of perſon. All travellers, of any degree of obſervation, have taken notice of this kind of family air. There are ſeveral orders of Bramins: thoſe who mix in ſociety are, for the moſt part, very corrupt in their morals; they believe that the water of the Ganges

BOOK I. Ganges will waſh away all their crimes; and not being ſubject to any civil juriſdiction, they live without either reſtraint or virtue; excepting that character of compaſſion and charity which is ſo commonly found in the mild climate of India.

THE others who live abſtracted from the world, are either weak-minded men or enthuſiaſts, and abandon themſelves to lazineſs, ſuperſtition, and the dreams of metaphyſics. We find in their diſputes the very ſame ideas that occur in the writings of our moſt celebrated metaphyſicians; ſuch as, ſubſtance, accident, priority, poſteriority, immutability, indiviſibility, the vital and ſenſitive ſoul; but with this difference, that in India theſe fine diſcoveries are very ancient, though it is but a very ſhort time ſince father Lombard, Thomas Aquinas, Leibnitz, and Mallebranche aſtoniſhed all Europe with their dexterity in raiſing theſe viſionary ſyſtems. As this abſtracted manner of reaſoning was derived to us from the Greek philoſophers, whoſe refinements we have far exceeded, it is not improbable that the Greeks themſelves might have borrowed this ridiculous knowledge from the Indians; unleſs we rather chuſe to ſuppoſe, that as the principles of metaphyſics lie open to the capacities of all nations, the indolence of the Bramins may have produced the ſame effect in India, as that of our monks has done in Europe: notwithſtanding the inhabitants of one country had never communicated their doctrines to thoſe of the other.

SUCH are the deſcendants of the ancient Brachmans, whom antiquity never ſpeaks of but with admiration;

admiration; becauſe the affectation of auſterity and myſtery, and the privilege of declaring the will of Heaven, have impoſed upon the vulgar in all ages. The Greeks aſcribe to them the doctrine of the immortality of the ſoul, and certain notions concerning the nature of the Supreme Being, and future rewards and puniſhments. BOOK I.

To this ſpecies of knowledge, which is the more flattering to the curioſity of man in proportion as it tranſcends his weak capacity, the Brachmans added an infinite number of religious obſervances, which were adopted by Pythagoras in his ſchool; ſuch as faſting, prayer, ſilence, and contemplation; virtues of the imagination, which have a more powerful effect upon the vulgar, than thoſe of a uſeful and benevolent tendency. The Brachmans were looked upon as the friends of the gods, becauſe they affected to pay them ſo much attention; and as the protectors of mankind, becauſe they paid them none. No bounds were therefore ſet to the reſpect and gratitude that were ſhewn them; princes themſelves did not ſcruple to conſult theſe recluſes upon any critical conjuncture, from a ſuppoſition, no doubt, that they were inſpired; ſince it was impoſſible to imagine that they had the advantages of experience. We can ſcarcely, however, deny, that there might be among them ſome men of real virtue, whoſe minds reliſhed the pure and ingenuous delights of ſtudy and ſcience; and who, by nobly raiſing their thoughts to the contemplation of the firſt Being, muſt have had more powerful incitements to render themſelves worthy of his care, and none to juſtify them

BOOK I. them in deceiving and tyrannizing over their fellow-creatures.

THE claſs of military men is diffuſed over the whole country under different denominations. In the Malabar they are called Naïrs; and here they are a well-made and brave ſet of men; but proud, effeminate, and ſuperſtitious. Some of the moſt fortunate of them have contrived to provide means of ſubſiſtence for themſelves upon this coaſt as in other parts; while others poſſeſs ſome little ſhare of property. The greateſt number of them are active officers or ſoldiers in the camps. It is generally known that they have an inclination to plunder and extortions; which they uſually diſplay upon the public roads. Every prudent traveller therefore takes the precaution to get himſelf attended by ſome of them; and thoſe who are paid for this ſervice, will rather ſuffer themſelves to be maſſacred, than ſurvive the ſtranger who has put himſelf under their protection. Were they to betray this truſt, their neareſt relations would put them to death. Theſe manners are peculiar to the Malabar country; for the other ſoldiers of Indoſtan have not ſuch vicious propenſities.

INDEPENDENT of the claſs of warriors, there are people, ſuch, for inſtance, as the Canarins and Marattas, who generally follow the military profeſſion, either becauſe they are the deſcendants of ſome tribes devoted originally to arms, or becauſe times and circumſtances have introduced a change in their primitive inſtitutions.

THE

THE third claſs conſiſts entirely of huſbandmen, and there are few countries where this ſet of men have a better title to the gratitude of their fellow-ſubjects; they are laborious and induſtrious, perfectly acquainted with the art of diſtributing their rivulets, and of making the burning ſoil they inhabit as fertile as poſſible. They are in India what they would be every where elſe, if not corrupted or oppreſſed by government, the moſt honeſt and virtuous of men. This claſs, which was formerly much reſpected, was free from tyranny and the ravages of war; never were the huſbandmen obliged to bear arms; their lands and their labours were holden equally ſacred; they ploughed their fields within view of contending armies, who ſuffered them to purſue their peaceful toil without moleſtation; their corn was never ſet on fire, nor their trees cut down; religion too, that all-powerful principle, lent her aſſiſtance to reaſon, which, though it inculcates indeed the propriety of protecting uſeful occupations, has not of itſelf ſufficient influence to enforce the execution of its own laws.

THE tribe of mechanics is branched out into as many ſubdiviſions as there are trades; no one is allowed to relinquiſh the employment of his parents; for this reaſon induſtry and vaſſalage have ever gone hand in hand, and carried the arts to as high a degree of perfection as they can poſſibly attain without the aſſiſtance of taſte and imagination, which ſeldom unfold themſelves but under the kind influences of emulation and liberty.

To

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To this tribe of mechanics, which is infinitely extenſive, two kinds of employment belong, remarkable for the ſingularity of ſome of their cuſtoms. One of them is that of the only workmen who are allowed to dig wells and ponds. Theſe are the ſtrongeſt and moſt laborious men of the country. Their wives ſhare their labours with them; they even eat with them; a privilege, which, throughout all Indoſtan, theſe women enjoy only in common with the wives of the carriers.

THIS laſt ſet of men, to whom all the buſineſs of carriage belongs, have no fixed reſidence; but travel over the whole peninſula. Their families and their merchandiſe are carried upon the backs of oxen; which, whether from uſurpation or original right, they feed upon all the roads, without paying. One of the moſt important employments of thoſe men is to provide ſubſiſtence for the armies. They are ſuffered to paſs freely through one camp, in order to ſupply the wants of another. Their perſons, their beaſts of burden, and even the proviſions that belong to them, are all ſacred. If it were proved that the proviſions they carry were the property of the enemy, they would be ſeized upon; but the reſt of the convoy would continue its march unmoleſted.

BESIDE theſe tribes, there is a fifth, which is the refuſe of all the reſt; the members of it are employed in the meaneſt offices of ſociety; they bury the dead, carry away dirt, and live upon the fleſh of animals that die natural deaths. They are

are prohibited from entering into the temples and public markets: neither are they allowed the uſe of the wells that are common to all the inhabitants. Their dwellings are at the extremity of the towns, or conſiſt of ſolitary cottages in the country; and they are even forbidden to appear in the ſtreets where the Bramins reſide. As all other Indians, they may employ themſelves in the labours of agriculture, but only for the benefit of the other tribes; for they had never any lands of their own, not even upon leaſe. Such is the degree of horror they excite, that if by chance they were to touch any one not belonging to their tribe, they would be deprived with impunity of a life reckoned too abject to deſerve the protection of the laws.

THE fate of theſe unhappy wretches, who are known on the coaſt of Coromandel by the name of Parias, is the ſame even in thoſe countries where a foreign dominion has contributed to produce ſome little change in the ideas of the people. Their degradation is ſtill more complete on the Malabar coaſt, which has not been ſubdued by the Mogul, and where they are called Pouliats.

MOST of them are employed in the culture of rice. Near the fields where they carry on this work there is a kind of hut, into which they retire, when they hear a cry which always comes from a diſtance, to give them notice of ſome order from the perſon on whom they depend; to which they anſwer without coming out of their retreat. They take the ſame precautions, whenever they

BOOK I. are warned by a confuſed kind of noiſe of the approach of any man whatever. If they have not time to hide themſelves, they fall proſtrate upon the ground, with their face downwards, with all the marks of humiliation which the ſenſe of their diſgrace can ſuggeſt. Whenever the harveſts do not anſwer to the avidity of an oppreſſive maſter, he ſometimes cruelly ſets fire to the huts of theſe unhappy labourers; and if they attempt to eſcape the flames, which ſeldom happens, he fires upon them without mercy.

THE condition of theſe wretched people is horrible in every reſpect, even in the manner in which they are forced to provide for their moſt urgent wants. In the duſk of the evening they come out from their retreats in bands more or leſs numerous; they direct their ſteps towards the market, at a certain diſtance from which they begin to bellow. The merchants approach, and the Pouliats aſk for what they want. They are ſupplied, and the proviſions are laid for them upon the very ſpot where the money deſtined for the payment of them has been previouſly depoſited. When the purchaſers can be aſſured that they ſhall not be ſeen by any one, they come out from behind the hedge where they had concealed themſelves, and carry away, with precipitation, what they have acquired in ſo ſingular a manner.

THESE Pouliats, however, the eternal object of contempt among the other tribes, have expelled, as it is ſaid, from among themſelves the Pouliches ſtill more degraded. Theſe laſt are forbidden the uſe of fire, they are not permitted to

to build huts, but are reduced to the neceſſity of living in a kind of neſt, which they make for themſelves in the foreſts, and upon the trees. When preſſed with hunger, they howl like wild beaſts to excite the compaſſion of the paſſengers. The moſt charitable among the Indians then depoſit ſome rice or other food at the foot of a tree, and retire with all poſſible haſte, to give the famiſhed wretch an opportunity of taking it without meeting with his benefactor, who would think himſelf polluted by coming near him. BOOK I.

THIS extreme diſgrace into which a conſiderable part of a numerous nation is plunged, has always appeared an inexplicable circumſtance. Men of the utmoſt ſagacity have never been able to conceive, how a people humane and ſenſible could have brought themſelves to reduce their own brethren to ſo abject a ſtate. To ſolve this difficulty let us be permitted to hazard a conjecture. In our half barbarous governments, dreadful torments, or an ignominious death, are allotted to thoſe criminals who have diſturbed, in a greater or leſs degree, the peace of ſociety. May we not therefore reaſonably ſuppoſe, that in the ſoft climate of India, a more moderate ſyſtem of legiſlation may have been ſatisfied with excluding from their tribes all kinds of malefactors? This puniſhment muſt appear to them ſufficient to put a ſtop to the commiſſion of ſuch crimes; and it was certainly the beſt adapted to a country where the effuſion of blood was always forbidden, by religious as well as moral principles. It would certainly have been a very proper circumſtance,

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if the children had not inherited the infamy of their parents; but there were unſurmountable prejudices which militated againſt this reinſtatement. There never was an inſtance of a family being received again into a tribe, after it had once been expelled from it.

THE Europeans, by living with theſe unhappy people upon terms of common humanity, have at length made themſelves almoſt equally the objects of deteſtation among the Indians. This deteſtation prevails even to this day in the inland parts of the country, where the want of intercourſe keeps alive thoſe rooted prejudices, which wear off gradually near the ſea-coaſts, where the intereſts and mutual wants of commerce unite men with each other, and neceſſarily introduce juſter notions of human nature.

ALL theſe claſſes are for ever ſeparated from each other by unſurmountable barriers; they are not allowed to intermarry, live, or eat together. Whoever tranſgreſſes this rule, is baniſhed as a diſgrace to his tribe.

ONE might expect that theſe ſeparations ſhould not exiſt in the temples. There we ought at leaſt to recollect, that diſtinctions of birth are merely a matter of ſocial convention, and that all men without exception are brethren and children of the ſame God: but this is by no means the caſe here. Some of the tribes, indeed, draw near to the foot of the altars, and are confounded with each other; but the loweſt of them feel the humiliating ſtate of their condition, even in the pagodas.

THE religious ſyſtem which has given a ſanction to the ſubordination of rank among the Indians, has not had ſufficient influence to prevent them entirely from aſpiring to thoſe marks of diſtinction which are appropriated to the ſuperior claſſes. Ambition, ſo natural to mankind, has ſometimes exerted itſelf, and ſingular expedients have been tried by men of reſtleſs ſpirit, to ſhare with the Bramins the veneration of the multitude; this has given riſe to a race of monks known in India by the name of Jogueys.

MEN of all the reſpectable tribes or caſtes are permitted to follow this claſs of life; nothing more is required of them than to emulate the Bramins in abſtracted contemplation and indolence; but at the ſame time they are obliged to ſurpaſs them in auſterities. Accordingly, the ſeverities which our moſt enthuſiaſtic monks impoſe upon themſelves, are not to be compared to the horrible torments to which an Indian monk devotes himſelf. The Jogueys, bent under the weight of their chains, ſtretched upon a dunghill, and extenuated by mortifications, watching, and faſting, exhibit a ſpectacle intereſting to the multitude.

MOST of them go about the country, where they receive the homage of the people, and even of the great, who, either from motives of principle or policy, often deſcend from their elephants, to proſtrate themſelves at the feet of theſe diſguſting mortals. Fruits, flowers, and perfumes are offered to them on all ſides. They demand with haughtineſs what they want, and

BOOK I. receive what is preſented to them as a tribute; nor does this arrogance ever leſſen the veneration that is paid to them. The object of their ambition is to collect materials for planting trees, for digging ponds, and for repairing or building pagodas.

THOSE among them who prefer living in the woods, are viſited in their ſolitude by numbers of women whoſe rank is not ſufficient to oblige them to lead a recluſe life, and eſpecially thoſe who have no children. They often find in their pilgrimage an end to their ſterility, which is more ignominious in India than any where elſe.

THE men of this order, whoſe miracles have been moſt extolled by report, are drawn towards the cities, where they fix their reſidence: but ſtill they live under tents, or in the open air. There it is that they receive marks of reſpect from all quarters, and that they give their advice, which is eagerly ſought after. They ſcarce ever condeſcend to viſit even the palaces, where their preſence would be eſteemed the higheſt honour. If they ſometimes yield to the intreaties of ſome woman of very conſiderable rank, their ſandals which they leave at the door, give notice to the huſband that he is not allowed to enter.

THE marvellous of the Indian mythology is leſs agreeable and leſs alluring than that of the Greeks. They have a ſcape-horſe, analogous to the ſcape-goat of the Jews. They admit, as we do, good and bad angels. The Lord, ſaith the Shaſter, formed the reſolution of creating beings, who might partake of his glory. He ſpoke, and angels

angels roſe into exiſtence; they ſang in concert the praiſes of their Creator, and harmony reigned in the celeſtial regions, when two of theſe ſpirits having revolted, drew a legion after them. The Supreme Being drove them into a place of torment, from whence they were releaſed at the interceſſion of the faithful angels, upon conditions which at once inſpired them with joy and terror. The rebels were ſentenced, under different forms, to undergo, in the loweſt of the fifteen planets, puniſhments proportionate to the enormity of their firſt offence: accordingly, each angel underwent eighty-ſeven tranſmigrations upon earth, before he animated the body of a cow, which holds the higheſt rank among the animal tribes. Theſe different tranſmigrations are ſo many ſtages of expiation, preparatory to a ſtate of probation, which commences as ſoon as the angel tranſmigrates from the body of the cow into that of a human being: in this ſituation the Creator enlarges his intellectual faculties, and conſtitutes him a free agent; and his good or bad conduct haſtens or retards the time of his pardon. The good are, at their death, re-united to the Supreme Being, and the wicked begin anew the æra of their expiation.

FROM this tradition it appears, that the metempſychoſis is an actual puniſhment, and that the ſouls which animate the generality of the brute creation, are nothing more than wicked ſpirits. This explanation is certainly not univerſally adopted in India. It was probably invented by ſome devotee of a melancholy and rigid caſt,

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for the doctrine of the tranſmigration of ſouls ſeems originally to have been founded rather on hope than fear.

In fact, it is natural to ſuppoſe that it was only adopted at firſt as an idea that flattered and ſoothed mankind, and would eaſily be embraced in a country where men, living under the influence of a delicious climate and a mild government, began to be ſenſible of the ſhortneſs of life. A ſyſtem, therefore, which extended it beyond its natural limits could not fail to be well received. It is a conſolation to an old man, who ſees himſelf deſerted by all that is dear to him, to imagine that his enjoyments will ſtill remain, and that his diſſolution only opens a paſſage to another ſcene of exiſtence. At the ſame time, it is equally a matter of conſolation to the friends who attend him in his laſt moments, to think, that in leaving the world he does not relinquiſh the hopes of riſing once more into life. Hence was the riſe and progreſs of the doctrine of tranſmigration. Reaſon, diſſatisfied with this illuſion, may urge in vain, that without recollection there can be no continuance or identity of being; and that if a man does not remember that he has exiſted, he is in the ſame ſituation as if he had never exiſted before:—Sentiment adopted what reaſon diſallowed.

The Shaſter, no doubt, has given a greater air of ſeverity to the doctrine of the metempſychoſis, with a view of making it more inſtrumental in ſupporting the ſyſtem of morality neceſſary to be eſtabliſhed. Accordingly, upon this idea of tranſmigration conſidered in the light of a puniſhment,

ment, the Shaſter explains the duties which the angels were required to perform. The principal ones were charity, abſtinence from animal food, and a ſcrupulous adherence to the profeſſion of their anceſtors. This laſt-mentioned prejudice, in which all theſe people agree, notwithſtanding they differ in their opinions concerning its origin, is without example, unleſs it be among the ancient Egyptians, whoſe inſtitutions and thoſe of the Indians have certainly ſome hiſtorical relation to each other, which is now unknown to us. But though the Egyptian laws eſtabliſhed a diſtinction of ranks, none were held in contempt: while, on the contrary, the laws of Brama, by the introduction perhaps of ſome abuſes, ſeem to have condemned one part of the nation to pain and infamy.

It is evident from the civil code, that the Indians were almoſt as civilized when Brama inſtituted his laws, as they are at preſent. Whenever a community begins to aſſume a certain form, it naturally divides into ſeveral claſſes, according to the variety and extent of thoſe arts that are neceſſary to ſupply its demands.

It was doubtleſs the intention of Brama, in confirming theſe different profeſſions by ſanctions in religion, and in confining the exerciſe of them perpetually to the ſame families, to give them a laſting eſtabliſhment on political principles; but he did not foreſee that by theſe means he ſhould obſtruct the progreſs of diſcoveries, which in future might give riſe to new occupations. Accordingly, if we may judge from the ſcrupulous atten-

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attention paid by the Indians at this day to the laws of Brama, we may affirm that induſtry has made no advances among this people ſince the time of this legiſlator; and that they were almoſt as civilized as they are at preſent, when they firſt received his laws. This remark is ſufficient to give us an idea of the antiquity of theſe people, who have made no improvements in knowledge ſince an æra which ſeems to be the moſt ancient in hiſtory.

DIFFERENT kinds of food were preſcribed by Brama for theſe reſpective tribes. The military, and ſome other caſtes, are allowed to eat veniſon and mutton; ſome huſbandmen and mechanics are indulged in the uſe of fiſh; while others live only on milk and vegetables. The Bramins eat nothing that has had life. In general theſe people are extremely ſober; but their abſtinence is more or leſs rigid, in proportion to the degree of labour their profeſſions require. They are married in their infancy.

THE extravagant cuſtom of burying the living with the dead, has prevailed in the old as well as in the new hemiſphere; among barbarous and civilized nations, in the moſt deſert as in the moſt populous regions. Countries which never had any communication with each other, have equally exhibited this cruel ſpectacle. Pride, exceſſive ſelf-love, and other paſſions or vices, may have led men into the ſame error in different climates.

IT may however be preſumed, that a practice ſo evidently contrary to reaſon, has been chiefly derived from the doctrine of the reſurrection of the

the body, and of a future life. The hope of being ſerved in the other world by the ſame perſons who have obeyed us in this, has been the cauſe of the ſlave being ſacrificed on the tomb of his maſter, and the wife on the corpſe of her huſband. Accordingly, all the records of this kind bear witneſs, that theſe ſacrifices are moſt frequently made upon the aſhes of princes.

ACCORDING to this principle, the Indians ought never to have been led aſtray by the idea of ſuch an extravagant cuſtom. Their prejudice in favour of the metempſychoſis is well known. They have always believed, and probably they will ever adhere to the ſame perſuaſion, that the ſoul, at the diſſolution of the body, goes to animate another, and that theſe ſucceſſive and continual tranſmigrations will never ceaſe. How is it poſſible, that with ſuch a ſyſtem, it can have been ſuppoſed that the aſhes of a wife would be mixed with thoſe of a huſband, from whom ſhe was to be ſeparated eternally? This is one of thoſe numberleſs inconſiſtencies which in all parts of the world degrade the human mind.

IT has been a matter of doubt upon what principle this inſtitution has been founded, till our opinions were determined upon this point by the publication of the civil code of Indoſtan, tranſlated from the Sanſcrit.

THE widows of the Indians, whatever propenſity every living creature may have to its own preſervation, reſolve upon the ſacrifice of their lives with a degree of boldneſs. If they ſhould recede from it, they would be degraded, covered with

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with rags, devoted to the meaneſt employments, and deſpiſed by the loweſt of the ſlaves. Theſe motives may poſſibly have ſome ſhare in ſtrengthening their reſolution: but they are chiefly urged on to this deſperate act from the fear of leaving an odious memory behind them; and of conſigning to infamy their children, whom they love with a degree of tenderneſs, which our more obdurate hearts have never experienced.

THESE horrid ſcenes are fortunately becoming every day leſs frequent. The Europeans never permit them in the territories over which their dominion extends. Some Mooriſh princes have alſo proſcribed them in their provinces. Thoſe among them whom the thirſt of gold has induced ſtill to ſuffer them, have ſet this permiſſion at ſo high a price, that it can ſeldom be purchaſed. But even this difficulty ſometimes increaſes the eagerneſs to obtain it. There are women who have been known to devote themſelves for a long time to the moſt humiliating and hardeſt labour, in order to collect the ſums required for this extravagant ſuicide.

A BRAMIN'S widow, young, beautiful, and engaging, was deſirous of exhibiting this tragic ſcene at Surat; but her ſolicitations were not complied with. The lady, full of indignation, took a handful of burning coals, and, ſeemingly regardleſs of the pain, ſaid in a firm tone to the Nabob: *Conſider not alone the tenderneſs of my age and of my ſex; ſee with what inſenſibility I hold this fire in my hands; and know that with equal conſtancy I ſhall throw myſelf into the flames.*

TRUTH,

TRUTH, falſehood, ſhame, and all ſorts of civil or religious prejudices, are therefore capable of exalting the mind of man to a contempt of life, the greateſt of all bleſſings; of death, the greateſt of all terrors; and of pain, the greateſt of all evils. Short-ſighted legiſlators, why have ye not diſcovered this powerful ſpring of action? Or, if ye have known it, why have ye not availed yourſelves of it to attach us to our duties? What good fathers, what obedient children, what true friends, what faithful citizens would ye not have made of us, by the mere diſtribution of the motives of honour and ſhame? If in the Malabar country the fear of contempt urges a young woman to throw herſelf into the flames; in what part of the world would not the ſame principle induce a mother to ſuckle her own child, or a wife to be true to her huſband?

THIS kind of courage, which is founded on prejudice rather than on character, is the only one the Indians poſſeſs. In other reſpects they are of a weak, mild, and humane diſpoſition, and almoſt ſtrangers to ſeveral of the paſſions that prevail among us. What motive of ambition indeed could there be among men deſtined to continue always in the ſame ſtate? The conſtant and repeated exerciſe of the religious ceremonies is the only pleaſure moſt of them enjoy. They love peaceable labour and an indolent life, and often quote this paſſage of one of their favourite authors: *'Tis better to ſit ſtill than to walk; better to ſleep than to awake; but death is better than all.*

THEIR conſtitution, and the exceſſive heat of their climate, do not, as it has often been ſaid, reſtrain

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reſtrain the impetuoſity of their ſenſual appetites, or weaken their propenſity to amorous pleaſures. The multitude of courteſans with which the country abounds, and the attention of the parents to marry their children before the ſexes can have any intercourſe with each other, are proofs of the violence of their paſſions. They are alſo addicted to avarice, the vice of weak bodies and narrow minds.

THEIR arts are of little conſequence. If we except their cottons, there is nothing that comes from India that has either taſte or elegance. The ſciences are ſtill more neglected; and the knowledge of the moſt learned Bramins does not go beyond the calculation of an eclipſe. Before the Tartars had penetrated into this country, there was not a ſingle bridge thrown over the rivers to make them paſſable. Nothing can be more wretched than the houſes of prayer they have lately built. The ancient pagodas, it is true, aſtoniſh us by their ſolidity and extent; but their ſtructure and ornaments are of the worſt kind. Repreſentations of animals and miracles, coarſely carved in brick, cover the outſide as well as the inſide of the walls. In the midſt of the temple, upon an altar richly ornamented, ſtands a divinity of a coloſſal ſize, which is blackened by the ſmoke of the lights that are conſtantly burning round it, and the front of which is always turned towards the principal gate, in order that thoſe among its worſhippers, to whom the entrance of the ſanctuary is forbidden, may have a view of the object of their adoration. When the people repair to their

their exercises of devotion, they are ushered in by the sound of music, and they carry fans for the purpose of keeping off insects. The mode of doing homage to the idol, is by songs, dances, and offerings. If the reputation of the divinity be spread far abroad, thousands of pilgrims, in large caravans, are seen flocking in from the most distant places, who, in the course of their journey, are treated with the most generous hospitality. These pious fanatics are never stopped in these laborious expeditions by the necessity of paying to the Mogul government a tribute proportioned to their quality.

The military class have chosen to fix their residence in the northern provinces, and the peninsula is chiefly inhabited by the inferior tribes. Hence it has happened, that all the powers who have attacked India on the side of the sea, have met with so little resistance. It may not be improper to remind those philosophers, who maintain that man is an animal destined to subsist upon the fruits of the earth, that the military people who indulge in animal food, are more robust, courageous, and animated, and live longer than those of the other classes who feed upon vegetables. It must however be acknowledged, that the difference between the inhabitants of the north and south, is of too uniform a cast to be attributed entirely to the particular kind of nourishment they use. On one hand, the cold, the elasticity of the air, less fertility, and more labour and exercise, with a more varied kind of life; all these circumstances increase the appetite and the strength, excite a spirit of resolution and activity, and give a firmer

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a firmer tone and a longer power of duration to the organs: on the other, the heats of the ſouth, together with great quantities of fruit, the facility of ſubſiſting without an active life, a conſtant perſpiration, a more free and laviſh uſe of the means conducive to population, more indulgence in effeminate pleaſures, and a ſedentary and uniform courſe of exiſtence; theſe ſeveral circumſtances, while they increaſe the number of births, occaſion a ſpeedier diſſolution. Upon the whole it ſhould ſeem, that though man was not by nature formed to conſume the fleſh of animals, he is endued with a power of accommodating himſelf to the various modes of life that prevail in every different climate; he therefore feeds upon the ſpoils of the chace, upon the produce of the waters, or upon the fruits of the earth; and becomes either a ſhepherd or a huſbandman, according to the fertility or barrenneſs of the ſoil he inhabits.

THE religion of Brama, though ſimple in its origin, is divided into eighty-three ſects, which agree in ſome fundamental points, and have no diſputes about the reſt: they live in amity with men of all profeſſions, becauſe their own does not oblige them to make proſelytes. The Indians ſeldom admit ſtrangers to their worſhip, and always with extreme reluctance. This was in ſome meaſure the ſpirit of the ancient ſuperſtitions, as appears from the example of the Egyptians, the Jews, the Greeks, and the Romans: and though it has occaſioned leſs ravages than the zeal of making converts, yet ſtill it prevents the intercourſe

courſe of ſociety, and raiſes an additional barrier between one people and another.

When we conſider how bounteouſly nature has provided for the happineſs of theſe fertile countries, where every want is eaſily ſupplied; and where the compaſſionate caſt and moral ſyſtem of the natives render them equally averſe from perſecution and the ſpirit of conqueſt, we cannot help lamenting that a barbarous inequality ſhould have diſtinguiſhed one part of the nation by power and privileges, while wretchedneſs and infamy are allotted to the reſt of the inhabitants. What can be the cauſe of this ſtrange abuſe of reaſon? It muſt doubtleſs be traced to that principle which has been the conſtant ſource of all the calamities that have befallen the inhabitants of this globe.

We need only ſuppoſe that a powerful people, with few lights to direct them, adopt an original error, which ignorance brings into credit: this error ſoon becomes general, and is made the baſis of an entire ſyſtem of politics and morality; and men ſoon begin to find that their moſt innocent propenſities are in oppoſition with their duties. In order to conform to this new plan of morality, perpetual violence muſt be offered to the plan of nature. This continual ſtruggle will introduce a moſt amazing contrariety into their manners; and the nation will be compoſed of a ſet of wretches, who will paſs their lives in mutually tormenting each other, and accuſing nature. Such is the picture of all the people upon earth, excepting,

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perhaps, a few ſocieties of ſavages. Abſurd prejudices have perverted human reaſon, and even ſtifled that inſtinct which teaches animals to reſiſt oppreſſion and tyranny. Multitudes of the human race really believe themſelves to be the property of a ſmall number of men who oppreſs them.

SUCH is the fatal progreſs of that original error, which impoſture has either produced or kept up in the mind of man. May true knowledge revive thoſe rights of reaſonable beings, which to be recovered, need only to be felt! Sages of the earth, philoſophers of every nation, it is yours alone to make laws, by pointing out theſe rights to your fellow-citizens. Take the glorious reſolution to inſtruct your fellow-creatures, and be aſſured, that if truth is longer in diffuſing and eſtabliſhing itſelf than error, yet its empire is more ſolid and laſting. Error paſſeth away; but truth remains. Mankind, allured by the expectation of happineſs, the road to which you will ſhew them, will liſten to you with attention. Excite a ſenſe of ſhame in the breaſts of thoſe numerous hireling ſlaves, who are always ready, at the command of their maſters, to deſtroy their fellow-citizens. Rouſe all the powers of human nature to oppoſe this ſubverſion of ſocial laws. Teach mankind that liberty is the inſtitution of God; authority that of man. Expoſe thoſe myſterious arts which hold the world in chains and darkneſs: let the people be ſenſible how far their credulity has been impoſed upon; let them re-aſſume with one accord the uſe of their faculties, and vindicate the honour of the human race.

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BESIDE the natives, the Portugueſe found Mohammedans in India, ſome of whom came from the borders of Africa. Moſt of them were deſcendents of the Arabs, who had either ſettled here or made incurſions. They had poſſeſſed themſelves of all the countries, as far as the Indus, by the force of arms. The moſt enterprizing among them had afterwards paſſed this river, and penetrated by degrees as far as the extremities of the Eaſt. On this immenſe continent they became the factors of Arabia and Egypt, and were treated with diſtinguiſhed reſpect by all the ſovereigns who wiſhed to keep up an intercourſe with theſe countries. Here they multiplied exceedingly; for as their religion allowed polygamy, they married in every place where they made any ſtay.

THEIR ſucceſs was ſtill more rapid and laſting in the iſlands that lie ſcattered in this ocean. The want of commerce procured them the beſt reception both from princes and their ſubjects. They ſoon roſe to the higheſt dignities in theſe petty ſtates, and became the arbiters of government. They took advantage of the ſuperiority of their knowledge, and the ſupport they received from their country, to eſtabliſh an univerſal dominion. The deſpots and their vaſſals, in order to ingratiate themſelves with them, abandoned a religion to which they had no great attachment, for new opinions which were to procure them ſome advantages. This ſacrifice was the leſs difficult for them, as the preachers of the Koran made no ſcruple of mixing ancient ſuperſtitions among thoſe they wiſhed to eſtabliſh.

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THESE Mohammedan Arabs, who were apoſtles and merchants at the ſame time, had already propagated their religion by purchaſing a great number of ſlaves, to whom, after they had been circumciſed and inſtructed in their doctrine, they gave their freedom; but as a certain pride prevented them from mixing their blood with that of theſe freedmen, the latter have in proceſs of time become a diſtinct people, inhabiting the coaſt of the Indian peninſula from Goa to Madraſs. They underſtand neither the Perſian, the Arabian, nor the Mooriſh language, and confine themſelves to that of the countries in which they live. Their religion is a ſpecies of Mohammedaniſm extremely corrupted by Indian ſuperſtitions. On the coaſt of Coromandel, where they are known by the name of Coolies, they are brokers, ſecretaries, merchants, and ſailors; and on the Malabar coaſt, where they are called Pooliahs, they exerciſe the ſame profeſſions, though with leſs credit; for their avaricious, falſe, and ſanguinary characters occaſion a general miſtruſt.

Conduct of the Portugueſe on the Malabar coaſt.

INDOSTAN, which has ſince been almoſt entirely reduced by war under a foreign yoke, was, at the arrival of the Portugueſe, divided between the kings of Cambaya, Delhi, Biſnagar, Narzingua, and Calicut, each of which reckoned ſeveral ſovereigns, more or leſs powerful, among their tributaries. The laſt of theſe monarchs, who is better known by the name of Zamorin, which anſwers to that of emperor, than by the name of his capital city, poſſeſſed the moſt maritime ſtates, and his empire extended over all the Malabar.

THERE

THERE is an ancient tradition, that when the Arabs began to eſtabliſh themſelves in India in the eighth century, the king of Malabar was ſo highly pleaſed with their religion, that he not only embraced the Mohammedan faith, but alſo reſolved to end his days at Mecca. Calicut, the place where he embarked, attracted ſo much the notice and reſpect of the Moors, that they inſenſibly acquired the habit of carrying their ſhips there. This port, however inconvenient and dangerous it was, became, from the mere effect of this ſuperſtition, the richeſt ſtaple of theſe countries. Precious ſtones, pearls, amber, ivory, china-ware, gold and ſilver, ſilks and cottons, indigo, ſugar, ſpices, valuable woods, perfumes, beautiful varniſhes, and whatever adds to the luxuries of life, were brought there from all parts of the Eaſt. Some of theſe rich commodities came by ſea; but as navigation was neither ſo ſafe, nor purſued with ſo much ſpirit as it hath been ſince, a great part of them was conveyed by land on the backs of oxen and elephants.

GAMA, informed of theſe particulars at Melinda, where he touched, took an able pilot from thence to conduct him to that port in which commerce was the moſt flouriſhing. Here he fortunately met with a Moor of Tunis, who underſtood the Portugueſe language, and who having been an aſtoniſhed witneſs of the exploits of theſe people on the coaſt of Barbary, had conceived an attachment for them, which roſe ſuperior to his prejudices. This predilection engaged the Moor to exert himſelf to the utmoſt of his power in the

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ſervice of theſe people, who placed an implicit confidence in him. He procured Gama an audience of the Zamorin, who propoſed an alliance, and a treaty of commerce with the king his maſter. This was upon the point of being concluded, when the Muſſulmen found means to excite ſuſpicions againſt a rival power, whoſe courage, activity and knowledge they dreaded. The reports they made to him of the ambition and reſtleſs ſpirit of the Portugueſe, made ſuch an impreſſion on the mind of the prince, that he reſolved to deſtroy thoſe adventurers to whom he had juſt before given ſo favourable a reception.

GAMA, apprized of this change by his faithful guide, ſent his brother back to the fleet, with the following inſtructions: *If you ſhould hear that I am thrown into priſon, or put to death, I forbid you, as your commander, either to come to my aſſiſtance, or avenge my death; ſet ſail immediately, and inform the king of the particulars of our voyage.*

FORTUNATELY the Portugueſe were not reduced to theſe extremities. The Zamorin, however deſirous, did not dare to carry his deſign into execution; and the admiral was allowed to return to his fleet. After making ſome well-timed repriſals, which procured a reſtitution of the merchandiſe and of the hoſtages he had left in Calicut, he ſailed for Europe.

IT is impoſſible to deſcribe the joy that prevailed at Liſbon on his return. The inhabitants beheld themſelves on the point of eſtabliſhing the richeſt commerce in the world, and being as much addicted to ſuperſtition as to avarice, flattered

tered themſelves at the ſame time that they ſhould propagate their religion, either by perſuaſion, or by the force of arms. The popes, who omitted no opportunity of confirming their opinion of their ſupreme authority upon earth, gave the Portugueſe all the coaſts they ſhould diſcover in the Eaſt, and inſpired this little ſtate with all the folly of conqueſt.

NUMBERS were eager to embark on board the new fleet that was fitted out for the expedition to India. Thirteen veſſels that ſailed from the Tagus, under the command of Alvares Cabral, arrived at Calicut, and reſtored ſome of the Zamorin's ſubjects, whom Gama had carried away with him. Theſe Indians ſpoke in the moſt favourable terms of the treatment they had received; but it was a long time before the Zamorin was reconciled to the Portugueſe; the Mooriſh party prevailed, and the people of Calicut, ſeduced by their intrigues, maſſacred fifty of the adventurers. Cabral, in revenge, burnt all the Arabian veſſels in the harbour, cannonaded the town, and then ſailed firſt to Cochin, and afterwards to Cananor.

THE kings of both theſe towns gave him ſpices, offered him gold and ſilver, and propoſed an alliance with him againſt the Zamorin, to whom they were tributaries. The kings of Onor, Culan, and ſeveral other princes made the ſame overtures; flattering themſelves that they ſhould all be relieved from the tribute they paid to the Zamorin, that they ſhould extend the frontiers of their dominions, and ſee their harbours crowded with the ſpoils of Aſia. This general infatuation procured

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to the Portugueſe ſo great an aſcendant over the whole country of Malabar, that wherever they appeared they gave the law. No ſovereign was ſuffered to enter into an alliance with them, unleſs he would acknowledge himſelf dependent on the court of Liſbon, give leave that a citadel ſhould be built in his capital, and ſell his merchandiſe at the price fixed by the buyer. The foreign merchant was obliged to wait till the Portugueſe had completed their lading; and no perſon was ſuffered to navigate theſe ſeas without producing paſſports from them. The wars in which they were unavoidably engaged, gave little interruption to their trade; with a ſmall number of men they defeated numerous armies; their enemies met with them every where, and always fled before them; and, in a ſhort time, the ſhips of the Moors, of the Zamorin and his dependants, no longer dared to make their appearance.

THE Portugueſe, thus become the conquerors of the Eaſt, were perpetually ſending rich cargoes to their own country, which reſounded with the fame of their exploits. The port of Liſbon gradually became the reſort of all the traders in Europe, and the grand mart of Indian commodities; for the Portugueſe, who brought them immediately from India, ſold them at a lower rate than the merchants of other nations.

To ſecure and extend theſe advantages, it became neceſſary to call in the aid of reflection to correct and ſtrengthen what had hitherto been the offspring of chance, of a ſingular intrepidity, and a happy concurrence of circumſtances. It

was neceſſary to eſtabliſh a ſyſtem of power and commerce, which, at the ſame time that it was extenſive enough to take in all objects, ſhould be ſo well connected, that all the parts of the grand edifice intended to be raiſed, ſhould mutually ſtrengthen each other. Notwithſtanding the information the court of Liſbon had received from the accounts tranſmitted from India, and the teſtimony of thoſe who had hitherto been intruſted with the management of its intereſts in that quarter; it wiſely repoſed all its confidence in Alphonſo Albuquerque, the moſt diſcerning of all the Portugueſe who had viſited Aſia.

THE new viceroy acquitted himſelf beyond expectation: he found it neceſſary that Portugal ſhould have a ſettlement which might eaſily be defended, where there was a good harbour and a wholeſome air, and where the Portugueſe might refreſh themſelves, after the fatigues of their paſſage from Europe. With this view he caſt his eyes upon Goa, which he foreſaw would be an important acquiſition to Liſbon.

Conqueſt of Goa by the Portugueſe.

GOA, which riſes in the form of an amphitheatre, is ſituated near the middle of the coaſt of Malabar, upon an iſland ſeparated from the continent by the two branches of a river, which iſſuing from the Balagate mountains, falls into the ſea at the diſtance of three leagues from the city, after having formed under its walls one of the fineſt harbours in the world. Numerous canals formed entirely by the hand of nature, thick woods with very good roads through them, meadows enamelled with an infinite variety of flowers, villas

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villas in the moſt pleaſing ſituations; all contribute to render this a delightful iſland, the circumference of which may be about ten leagues; and the land exhibits an agreeable variety of vallies and riſing grounds. Before the entrance into the road, we obſerve the two peninſulas of Salſette and Barda, which ſerve the double purpoſes of defence and ſhelter to the city. They are guarded by forts lined with artillery, where all ſhips are obliged to ſtop before they come to an anchor in the harbour.

GOA, though not ſo conſiderable at that time as it has been ſince, was looked upon as the moſt advantageous poſt in India. It belonged to the king of the Decan; but Idalcan, who was intruſted with the government of it, had aſſumed an independency, and endeavoured to extend his power in Malabar. While this uſurper was purſuing his ſchemes on the continent, Albuquerque appeared before the gates of Goa, took the city by ſtorm, and acquired this valuable advantage with very little loſs.

IDALCAN, informed of the loſs he had ſuſtained, did not heſitate a moment what meaſures he ſhould take. In conjunction even with the Indians, his enemies, who were almoſt as much intereſted in this matter as himſelf, he marched towards the capital, with a degree of expedition never before known in that country. The Portugueſe having no firm footing there, and finding themſelves unable to preſerve their conqueſt, retreated to their ſhips which kept their ſtation in the harbour, and ſent to Cochin for a reinforcement.

ment. While they were waiting for it, their proviſions failed. Idalcan offered them a ſupply, giving them to underſtand, *That he choſe to conquer by arms, and not by famine.* It was cuſtomary at that time, in the Indian wars, for the armies to ſuffer proviſions to be carried to their enemies. Albuquerque rejected the offer made him, with this reply, *That he would receive no preſents from Idalcan till they were friends.* The ſuccour he hourly expected never arrived.

THIS diſappointment determined him to retreat, and to poſtpone the execution of his darling project to a more favourable opportunity, which preſented itſelf a few months after. Idalcan being obliged to take the field again to preſerve his dominions from abſolute deſtruction, Albuquerque made a ſudden attack upon Goa, which he carried by ſtorm, and fortified himſelf in the place. As the harbour of Calicut was good for nothing, and ceaſed to be frequented by the Arabian veſſels, all its trade and riches were transferred to this city, which became the metropolis of all the Portugueſe ſettlements in India.

THE natives of the country were too weak, too diſpirited, and too much at variance, to put a ſtop to the ſucceſs of this enterpriſing nation. Nothing remained to be done but to guard againſt the Egyptians, nor was the leaſt precaution either omitted or neglected.

Manner in which the Europeans carried on trade with India before the Portugueſe had doubled the Cape of Good Hope.

EGYPT, which is conſidered as the parent of all hiſtorical antiquities, the ſource of policy, and the nurſery of arts and ſciences, after having remained for ages in a ſtate of ſeparation from the reſt of the

BOOK I. the world, who were held in contempt by this wiſe country, underſtood and practiſed navigation. The inhabitants had long neglected the Mediterranean, where they did not certainly expect any great advantages, and directed their courſe towards the Indian ocean, which was the true channel of wealth.

STRUCK with the ſituation of this country between two ſeas, one of which opens the road to the Eaſt, and the other to the Weſt, Alexander formed the deſign of fixing the ſeat of his empire in Egypt, and of making it the center of trade to the whole world. This prince, who had more diſcernment than any other conqueror, ſaw that if it were poſſible to form an union between his preſent and future acquiſitions, he muſt make choice of a country which nature ſeems to have placed, as it were, in contact with Africa and Aſia to connect them with Europe. The premature death of the greateſt commander that hiſtory and fable have held up to the admiration of mankind, would for ever have annihilated theſe vaſt projects, had they not been in part purſued by Ptolemy, one of his lieutenants; who, upon the diviſion of the moſt magnificent ſpoil ever known, claimed Egypt for his ſhare.

IN the reign of this new ſovereign and his immediate ſucceſſors, commerce made prodigious improvements. Alexandria was the mart of the merchandiſe that came from India, and the port of Berenice on the Red Sea was put into a ſtate fit to receive them. In order to facilitate the communication between the two cities, a canal was

was digged, which iſſued from one of the branches of the Nile, and diſcharged itſelf into the Arabian Gulph. By the ſkilful management of ſeveral ſtreams, and by a great number of ſluices conſtructed with ingenuity, the canal was extended to the length of fifty leagues; its breadth was five and twenty toiſes, and its depth was made ſufficient for the ſhips it was intended to bear. This magnificent work, for ſome philoſophical reaſons, the detail of which would take up too much of our time, was not attended with thoſe advantages that were expected from it; ſo that it fell to ruin imperceptibly.

THE government attempted, by every poſſible means, to ſupply the want of it. In the midſt of thoſe barren and parched up deſarts through which it was neceſſary to paſs, different inns were eſtabliſhed, and repoſitories of water formed, where the travellers with their caravans refreſhed themſelves and their camels.

A WRITER, who has entered deeply into this ſubject, and whoſe accounts we follow, tells us, that ſome of the numerous veſſels that were built in conſequence of theſe connections, traded only in the gulph with the Arabians and Abyſſinians. Among thoſe which ventured out into the main ocean, ſome ſailed ſouthward to the right along the eaſtern coaſts of Africa, as far as the iſland of Madagaſcar; while others, ſteering to the left towards the Perſian gulph, went even as far as the Euphrates, to trade with the people on its banks, particularly with the Greeks, whom Alexander had brought there with him in his expeditions.

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tions. Others, grown ſtill more enterpriſing from the hopes of gain, penetrated as far as the mouths of the Indus, traverſed the coaſt of Malabar, and touched at the iſland of Ceylon, known to the ancients by the name of Taprobane. A very ſmall number paſſed through the Coromandel to go up the river Ganges, as far as Polybotra, a town the moſt celebrated in India on account of its riches. Thus induſtry proceeded by gradual advances, from one river or coaſt to another, to appropriate the productions of thoſe countries that abound moſt in fruits, flowers, perfumes, precious ſtones, and all the delicacies of voluptuous luxury.

THE boats made uſe of in theſe expeditions were long and flat, not unlike thoſe that are ſeen upon the Nile. Before the invention of the compaſs, in conſequence of which larger veſſels, carrying more ſail, were fitted out for the main ocean, it was neceſſary to row cloſe to the ſhore, and to follow the windings of the coaſt from one point of land to another. The ſides of the ſhips were alſo made leſs, in order to weaken the power of the wind over them; and the ſhips were more ſhallow, leſt they ſhould ſtrike againſt rocks, ſands, or ſhallows. Thus a voyage, not ſo long by one-third as thoſe which are now performed in leſs than ſix months, ſometimes laſted five years or more. The deficiency of the ſhips in ſize, was then ſupplied by numbers; and the diſadvantages of ſlow ſailing were compenſated by the frequent fleets that were fitted out.

THE

THE Egyptians exported to India the ſame articles that have been carried there ever ſince, to wit, woollen manufactures, iron, lead, copper, ſome ſmall pieces of workmanſhip in glaſs and ſilver, in exchange for ivory, ebony, tortoiſe-ſhell, white and printed linens, ſilks, pearls, precious ſtones, cinnamon, ſpices, and particularly frankincenſe; which was a perfume the moſt in eſteem, from its being uſed in divine worſhip, and contributing to the gratification of princes. It ſold at ſo high a price, that the merchants adulterated under pretence of improving it. So apprehenſive is avarice of being defrauded by poverty, that the workmen who were employed in making it were naked; having only a girdle about their loins, the ends of which were ſealed by the proprietor of the manufacture.

ALL the ſeafaring and trading nations in the Mediterranean reſorted to the ports of Egypt to purchaſe the productions of India. When Carthage and Corinth became the victims of the vices introduced by their opulence, the Egyptians were themſelves obliged to export the riches with which theſe cities formerly loaded their own veſſels. As their maritime power increaſed, they extended their navigation as far as Cadiz. They could ſcarcely ſupply the demands of Rome, the luxury of which kept pace with its conqueſts; at the ſame time that the Egyptians themſelves were arrived at ſuch a pitch of extravagance, that the accounts given of it have the air of romance. Cleopatra, with whom their empire and hiſtory expired, was as profuſe as ſhe was libidinous.

But

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But notwithſtanding theſe incredible expences, the advantages they derived from the Indian trade were ſo great, that after they were ſubdued and plundered, lands, proviſions, and merchandiſe, bore double the price at Rome. If Pliny may be credited, the conqueror, by reinſtating the conquered in this ſource of opulence, which was calculated rather to flatter their vanity than to aggrandiſe their power, gained twenty thouſand per cent. Though it be evident that this calculation is exaggerated, we may from thence form a conjecture of the profits that muſt have been gained in thoſe diſtant ages, when the Indians were not ſo well acquainted with their own intereſt.

While the Romans had virtue enough to preſerve the power acquired by their anceſtors, Egypt contributed greatly to ſupport the dignity of the empire by the riches it poured into it from India. But the fulneſs of luxury, like the corpulency of the body, is a ſymptom of approaching decay. This vaſt empire ſunk under its own weight, and, like levers of wood or metal, whoſe exceſſive length contributes to their weakneſs, it broke, and was divided into two immenſe parts.

Egypt was annexed to the eaſtern empire, which laſted longer than the weſtern; becauſe it was not attacked ſo early, or with ſo much vigour. If riches could have ſupplied the place of courage, its ſituation and reſources would even have made it invincible. But the inhabitants of this empire had nothing except ſtratagem to oppoſe

poſe againſt an enemy, who, to the enthuſiaſm of a new religion, joined all the ſtrength of an uncivilized people. A torrent, the ſwell of which was thus increaſing from the ravages it made, was not to be ſtopped by ſo ſlight a barrier. In the ſeventh century it ſwept away ſeveral provinces, and Egypt among the reſt; which, after having been one of the principal empires of antiquity, and the model of all modern monarchies, was at length deſtined to ſink into that ſtate of languor and oblivion, in which it remains to this day.

THE Greeks comforted themſelves under this misfortune, on finding that the wars of the Saracens had diverted the ſtream of the Indian commerce from Alexandria to Conſtantinople, by two channels already well known. One of theſe was the Euxine or Black Sea, where it was uſual to embark to go up the Phaſis; at firſt upon large veſſels, and afterwards upon ſmaller ones, which ſailed as far as Serapanna; from whence, in four or five days, the merchants conveyed their commodities by land-carriage to the river Cyrus, which falls into the Caſpian ſea. Having croſſed this tempeſtuous ocean, they arrived at the mouth of the Oxus, which extended almoſt as far as the ſource of the Indus, and from whence they returned the ſame way, laden with the treaſures of Aſia. Such was one of the means of communication between this continent, always naturally rich, and that of Europe, which was then poor, and ravaged by its own inhabitants.

THE other channel of communication was more ſimple. The Indian veſſels, ſailing from different

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coaſts, paſſed the Perſian gulph, and depoſited their cargoes on the banks of the Euphrates, from whence they were carried in a day or two to Palmyra, and were ſent off to the coaſts of Syria from that city; which undoubtedly owed its origin to the idea of its ſerving for that kind of ſtaple, eſtabliſhed in one of thoſe very uncommon parts of Arabia, where trees, water, and a ſoil ſuſceptible of cultivation, are to be found. This city, though ſituated between the two great empires, of the Romans and Parthians, was ſtill for a long time allowed to remain neuter. It was at length ſubdued by Trajan, who did not withdraw any of its riches from it. It was even during the courſe of the hundred and fifty years of its being a Roman colony, that thoſe temples, porticos, and palaces, were raiſed within its walls, after the model of the Greek architecture; and the ruins of which, ſo accurately delineated, have lately excited ſo much of our admiration and aſtoniſhment. The proſperities of this celebrated city became fatal to it, ſince they determined the queen to attempt to throw off an allegiance which was not oppreſſive: it was utterly ruined by Aurelian. This emperor, it is true, afterwards permitted a few citizens, who had ſurvived the calamities of their country, to reſtore it, and to live there: but it is a more eaſy matter to deſtroy than to rebuild. This ſeat of commerce, of arts, and of the grandeur of Zenobia, became gradually an obſcure place, a fortreſs of little conſequence, and at length a miſerable village, conſiſting of thirty or forty huts, built in the ſpacious circuit

cuit of a public edifice formerly of great magnificence.

PALMYRA being deſtroyed, the caravans, after ſome fluctuations, conſtantly took the road of Aleppo: which, by means of the harbour of Alexandretta, turned the current of wealth to Conſtantinople, that was at length become the general mart of all the productions of India.

THIS ſingle advantage might have retarded the fall of the empire, and, perhaps, have reſtored it to its ancient grandeur: but that grandeur had been acquired by arms, by virtues, and by frugal manners; and it was now deſtitute of all thoſe means of maintaining its proſperity. The Greeks, corrupted by the prodigious acceſſion of wealth, which an excluſive commerce poured in upon them almoſt without any efforts or activity of their own, abandoned themſelves to that indolent and effeminate way of life, which is infallibly brought on by luxury; they gave up their time to the frivolous pleaſures of the brilliant and voluptuous arts; and to futile, obſcure, and ſophiſtical diſquiſitions on matters of taſte and ſentiment, and even of religion and politics. They could ſuffer themſelves to be oppreſſed, but knew not how to aſſert their right to be properly governed; and alternately made their court to tyrants by the moſt abject adulation, or irritated them by a faint reſiſtance. When the emperors had bought theſe people, they ſold them to all the monopolizers who aimed at enriching themſelves by the ruin of the ſtate. The government, ſtill more corrupted than its ſubjects, ſuffered its

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navy to decay, and placed its whole dependence on the treaties it entered into with the ſtrangers, whoſe ſhips frequented its ports. The Italians had inſenſibly engroſſed the carrying trade, which the Greeks had for a long time kept in their own hands. This branch of buſineſs, which conſiſts more in activity than profit, was doubly uſeful to a trading nation, whoſe chief riches ariſe from maintaining their vigour by labour. Indolence haſtened the deſtruction of Conſtantinople, which was preſſed and ſurrounded on all ſides by the conqueſts of the Turks. The Genoeſe fell into the precipice which their perfidy and avarice had digged for them. Mohammed the ſecond drove them from Caffa, to which place they had, of late years, drawn the greateſt part of the Aſiatic trade.

THE Venetians did not wait for this event to give them an opportunity of reviving their connections with Egypt. They had experienced more indulgence than they expected from a government eſtabliſhed ſince the laſt cruſades, and nearly reſembling that of Algiers. The Mammelucs, who at the time of theſe wars had taken poſſeſſion of a throne of which they had hitherto been the ſupport, were for the moſt part ſlaves brought from Circaſſia in their infancy, and trained up early to a military life. The ſupreme authority was veſted in a chief and a council compoſed of four-and-twenty principal perſons. This military corps, which eaſe would unavoidably have enervated, was recruited every year by a multitude of bold adventurers, who flocked from all parts,

parts, with a view of making their fortune. Theſe greedy people were prevailed upon, by a ſum of money and promiſes, to conſent that their country ſhould be made the mart of Indian merchandiſe; and were thus bribed into a meaſure, which the political intereſt of their ſtate would always have required them to adopt. The inhabitants of Piſa and Florence, of Catalonia and Genoa, received ſome benefit from this change; but it was of ſignal advantage to the Venetians, by whoſe management it was effected. Affairs were in this ſituation when the Portugueſe made their appearance in India.

THIS great event, and the conſequences that immediately followed it, occaſioned much uneaſineſs at Venice. This republic, ſo celebrated for its wiſdom, had lately been diſconcerted by a league which it could not oppoſe, and which it certainly had no reaſon to foreſee. Several princes of different intereſts who were rivals in power, and had pretenſions of an oppoſite nature, united, in defiance of all the rules of juſtice and policy, to deſtroy a ſtate which had not given the leaſt umbrage to any of them; and even Lewis the XIIth, who of all theſe princes was the moſt intereſted in the preſervation of Venice, brought it to the brink of ruin by the victory of Aignadelle. The quarrels which muſt neceſſarily ariſe among ſuch allies, joined to the prudence of the republic, ſaved it from this danger; which, though more imminent in appearance, was, in fact, not ſo great nor ſo immediate, as that it was now ex-

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poſed to by the diſcovery of a paſſage to India by the Cape of Good Hope.

VENICE ſoon perceived that her commerce, and conſequently her power, was on the point of being transferred to the Portugueſe. Every expedient was tried that an able adminiſtration could ſuggeſt. Some of the ſkilful emiſſaries, which the ſtate took care to retain and employ dexterouſly in all places, perſuaded the Arabs ſettled in their country, and thoſe that were diſperſed over India, or the eaſtern coaſt of Africa, that as their intereſt was equally concerned with that of Venice, they ought to unite with her againſt a nation, which had made itſelf miſtreſs of the common ſource of their riches.

THE rumour of this league reached the Sultan of Egypt, whoſe attention was already awakened by the misfortunes he felt, as well as thoſe he foreſaw. The cuſtoms, which conſtituted a principal branch of his revenue, and by which five per cent. was levied on the importation, and ten on the exportation of Indian goods, began to bring in little or nothing. The frequent bankruptcies, which were the neceſſary conſequence of the embarraſſment of affairs, exaſperated men's minds againſt the government, which is always reſponſible to the people for the calamities they endure. The militia, which was ill paid, fearing that their ſubſiſtence would be ſtill more precarious, raiſed mutinies, which are more to be dreaded in the decline of a ſtate, than in the time of its proſperity. Egypt was equally a ſufferer

ſufferer by the trade which the Portugueſe themſelves carried on, as by the interruption which its own commerce experienced from their acts of violence.

THE Egyptians might have extricated themſelves from theſe misfortunes by fitting out a fleet; but the Red Sea afforded no materials for this purpoſe. The Venetians removed this obſtacle by ſending wood and other materials to Alexandria, which were conveyed by the Nile to Cairo, from whence they were carried by camels to Suez. In the year 1508, four large veſſels, one galleon, two gallies, and three galliots, were diſpatched from this celebrated port to India.

The Portugueſe make themſelves maſters of the Red Sea.

THE Portugueſe, who foreſaw this confederacy, had the preceding year laid a ſcheme to prevent it, by making themſelves maſters of the Red Sea: they were certain, that with this advantage they ſhould have nothing to fear from this connection, nor from the combined forces of Egypt and Arabia. With this view, they formed a plan to ſeize upon the iſland of Socotora, which is ſituated at the diſtance of a hundred and eighty leagues from the ſtraits of Babelmandel, which are formed by Cape Guardafeu on the African ſide, and by Cape Fartack on the ſide of Arabia.

ANOTHER advantage was to ariſe to them from this conqueſt, that of being poſſeſſed of the moſt perfect aloes that have ever been known.

THE plant which produces this juice and gives it its name, is furniſhed with a number of thick leaves, from the midſt of which there iſſues a very beautiful cluſter of red flowers. Theſe leaves are

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gathered, and the fluid they contain is extracted by a ſlight degree of preſſure. This fluid being cleanſed of its groſſer particles, and inſpiſſated by the heat of the ſun, forms the ſuccotrine aloes, which is eaſily diſtinguiſhed from the other kinds, by its yellow colour, its brightneſs, its tranſparency, its powerful ſmell, and its bitter and aromatic taſte.

TRISTAN d'ACUNHA ſailed from Portugal with a conſiderable armament to attack this iſland. Upon his landing, he was oppoſed by Ibrahim, ſon of the king of the people of Fartack, who was ſovereign of part of Arabia and Socotora. This young prince was killed in the engagement; the Portugueſe beſieged the only town that was in the iſland, and carried it by ſtorm, though it was defended to the laſt extremity by a garriſon ſuperior in number to their ſmall army. The ſoldiers that compoſed this garriſon reſolved not to ſurvive the ſon of their ſovereign, refuſed to capitulate, and were all, to the laſt man, put to the ſword. The intrepidity of d'Acunha's troops was not to be damped by theſe exertions of courage.

THIS ſucceſsful enterpriſe was not attended with the advantages that were expected from it. It was found that the iſland was barren, that it had no port, and that the ſhips which came from the Red Sea never touched there, though they could not enter the gulph without taking an obſervation of it. Accordingly, the Egyptian fleet found a ſafe paſſage into the Indian ocean, where it joined that of Cambaya. Theſe united armaments were ſucceſsful againſt the Portugueſe, who were conſiderably

ſiderably weakened by the great number of veſſels they had lately diſpatched with merchandiſe to Europe. This triumph, however, did not laſt long; the conquered party were ſupplied with reinforcements, and regained their ſuperiority, which they ever after preſerved. The armaments, which continued to come from Egypt, were always beaten and diſperſed by the ſmall Portugueſe ſquadrons that cruized at the entrance of the gulph.

As theſe ſkirmiſhes, however, kept up a conſtant alarm, and occaſioned ſome expence, Albuquerque thought it incumbent on him to put an end to them by the deſtruction of Suez: a project which was thwarted by a variety of obſtacles.

THE Red Sea, which ſeparates Arabia from Upper Ethiopia and part of Egypt, is three hundred and fifty leagues in length, and forty in breadth. As there is no river falling into it of ſufficient force to counteract the influence of the tide, it is more affected by the motions of the great ocean, than any of the inland ſeas nearly in the ſame latitude. It is not much expoſed to tempeſts; the winds uſually blow from north and ſouth, and being periodical like the monſoons in India, invariably determine the ſeaſon of ſailing into or out of this ſea. It may be divided into three parts; the middle diviſion is clear and navigable at all times, its depth being from twenty-five to ſixty fathoms. The other two diviſions, which lie nearer the land, though they abound in ſhoals, are more frequented by the neighbouring nations; who being obliged to keep cloſe to the

ſhore

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ſhore on account of the ſmallneſs of their veſſels, never launch out into the principal channel, unleſs they expect a ſquall of wind. The difficulty, not to ſay impoſſibility, of landing in the harbours on this coaſt, makes the navigation dangerous for veſſels of large burthen, not to mention the great number of deſert iſlands they meet with in their paſſage, which are barren, and afford no ſupply of freſh water.

ALBUQUERQUE, notwithſtanding his abilities, experience, and reſolution, could not ſurmount ſo many difficulties. After entering a conſiderable way into the Red Sea, he was obliged to return with his fleet, which had ſuffered perpetual hardſhips, and been expoſed to the greateſt dangers. He was prompted, by a reſtleſs and cruel ſpirit of enterprize, to employ methods for the accompliſhment of his deſigns, which, though of a ſtill bolder caſt, he thought could not fail of ſucceſs. He endeavoured to perſuade the emperor of Ethiopia, who ſolicited the protection of Portugal, to turn the courſe of the Nile ſo as to open a paſſage for him into the Red Sea. Egypt would then have become in a great meaſure uninhabitable, or at leaſt unfit for commerce. In the mean time he propoſed to tranſport into Arabia, by the gulph of Perſia, three or four hundred horſe, which he thought would be ſufficient to plunder Medina and Mecca. He imagined that by ſo bold an expedition, he ſhould ſtrike terror into the Mohammedans, and put a ſtop to that prodigious concourſe of pilgrims which was the chief ſupport of a trade he wiſhed totally to extirpate.

OTHER

OTHER enterprizes of a leſs hazardous nature, and attended with more immediate advantage, led him to poſtpone the ruin of a power, the influence of which, as a rival, was the only circumſtance neceſſary to be guarded againſt at the preſent juncture. The conqueſt of Egypt by the Turks, a few years after, made it requiſite to act with the greater precaution. Men of genius, whoſe minds were capable of purſuing the ſeries of events which had preceded and followed the diſcovery of the paſſage by the Cape of Good Hope, and of forming deep conjectures concerning the revolutions which this new track of navigation muſt neceſſarily prevent, could not help conſidering this remarkable tranſaction as the moſt important æra in the hiſtory of the world.

Dangers from which Europe has been preſerved by the dominion of the Portugueſe over the Red Sea.

EUROPE had but juſt begun to recover its ſtrength, and to ſhake off the yoke of ſlavery, which had diſgraced its inhabitants from the time of the Roman conqueſts down to the inſtitution of the feudal laws. Innumerable tyrants, who kept multitudes in a ſtate of oppreſſion and ſlavery, had been ruined by the folly of the cruſades. To defray the expences of theſe romantic expeditions, they had been obliged to ſell their lands and caſtles, and for a pecuniary conſideration to allow their vaſſals ſome privileges, which at length almoſt reinſtated them in the order of human beings. From that time the right of property began to be introduced among individuals, and gave them that kind of independence, without which property itſelf is a mere illuſion. Thus the firſt dawnings of liberty in Europe were, however

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ever unexpectedly, owen to the cruſades; and the rage of conqueſt for once contributed to the happineſs of mankind.

If Vaſco de Gama had not made his diſcoveries, the ſpirit of liberty would have been again extinguiſhed, and probably without hopes of a revival. The Turks were upon the point of expelling thoſe ſavage nations, who, pouring from the extremities of the globe, had driven out the Romans, to become, like them, the ſcourges of human kind; and our barbarous inſtitutions would have been ſupplanted by oppreſſions ſtill more intolerable. This muſt inevitably have been the caſe, if the ſavage conquerors of Egypt had not been repulſed by the Portugueſe in their ſeveral expeditions to India. Their poſſeſſion of the riches of Aſia would have ſecured their claim to thoſe of Europe. As the trade of the whole world would have been in their hands, they muſt conſequently have had the greateſt maritime force that ever had been known. What oppoſition could our continent then have made to the progreſs of a people whoſe religion and policy equally inſpired them with the idea of conqueſt?

Dissensions were then prevailing in England for the recovery of its liberties; France was contending for the intereſts of its ſovereigns; Germany for thoſe of its religion; and Italy was employed in adjuſting the mutual claims of a tyrant and an impoſtor. Europe, overrun with fanatics and armies, reſembled a ſick perſon, who falling into a delirium, in the paroxyſm of madneſs opens his veins till he faints with loſs of blood and ſpirits.

In

In this ſtate of weakneſs and anarchy, it was ill prepared to reſiſt the inroads of the Turks.

As the calm which ſucceeds the tempeſtuous ſeaſon of civil wars makes a nation formidable to its neighbours; ſo the factions which divide it as certainly expoſe it to ravage and oppreſſion. The depraved morals of the clergy would have been a further encouragement to the introduction of a new worſhip; and we ſhould have been condemned to a ſtate of ſlavery without any hopes of relief. There is not one, indeed, among all the political and religious ſyſtems that oppreſs mankind, which allows ſo little ſcope to liberty as that of the Muſſulmen. Throughout almoſt all Europe, a religion foreign to government, and introduced without its patronage; rules of morality diſperſed without order or preciſion in obſcure writings, capable of an endleſs variety of interpretations; authority engroſſed by prieſts and princes, who are perpetually conteſting their right to rule over their fellow-creatures; political and civil inſtitutions daily formed in contradiction to the prevailing religion, which condemns ambition and inequality of rank; a turbulent and enterpriſing adminiſtration, which, in order to tyrannize with a higher hand, is perpetually ſetting one part of the ſtate at variance with the other: all theſe principles of diſcord muſt neceſſarily keep the minds of men in conſtant agitation. Is it ſurpriſing that on the view of this tumultuous ſcene, nature alarmed ſhould riſe up in our hearts, and cry out, "Is man born free?"

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But when men once became ſlaves to a religion which conſecrates tyranny by eſtabliſhing the throne upon the altar; which ſeems to check the ſallies of ambition by encouraging voluptuouſneſs, and cheriſhes a ſpirit of indolence by forbidding the exerciſe of the underſtanding: there is no reaſon to hope for any conſiderable revolutions. Thus the Turks, who frequently ſtrangle their maſter, have never entertained a thought of changing their government. This is an idea beyond the reach of minds enervated and corrupted like theirs. The whole world would therefore have loſt its liberty, had not the moſt ſuperſtitious, and, perhaps, the moſt enſlaved nation in Chriſtendom checked the progreſs of the fanaticiſm of the Mohammedans, and put a ſtop to the career of their victories, by depriving them of thoſe ſources of wealth which were neceſſary to the ſucceſs of their enterprizes. Albuquerque went ſtill further; not ſatisfied with having taken effectual meaſures to prevent any veſſel from paſſing from the Arabian ſea to the Indian ocean, he attempted to acquire the command of the Perſian gulph.

The Portugueſe make themſelves maſters of the Perſian gulph.

At the mouth of the ſtrait of Mocandon, which leads into the Perſian gulph, ſtands the iſland of Gombroon. In the eleventh century an Arabian conqueror built upon this barren rock the city of Ormus, which afterwards became the capital of an empire, comprehending a conſiderable part of Arabia on one ſide, and of Perſia on the other. Ormus had two good harbours, and was large and well fortified; its riches and ſtrength were entirely

entirely owen to its ſituation. It was the centre of trade between Perſia and India; which was very conſiderable, at a time when the Perſians conveyed moſt of the merchandiſe brought from Aſia to Europe, through the ports of Syria or Caffa. In the ſeaſons which permitted the foreign merchants to come there, Ormus afforded a more ſplendid and agreeable ſcene than any city in the Eaſt. Perſons from all parts of the globe exchanged their commodities, and tranſacted their buſineſs there, with an air of politeneſs and attention which are ſeldom ſeen in other places of trade.

THESE manners were introduced by the merchants belonging to the port, who engaged foreigners to imitate their affability. Their addreſs, the regularity of their police, and the variety of entertainments which their city afforded, joined to the intereſts of commerce, invited merchants to make it a place of reſort. The ſtreets were covered with mats, and in ſome places with carpets; and the linen awnings which were ſuſpended from the tops of the houſes, prevented any inconvenience from the heat of the ſun. Indian cabinets ornamented with gilded vaſes, or china filled with flowering ſhrubs, or aromatic plants, adorned their apartments. Camels laden with water were ſtationed in the public ſquares. Perſian wines, perfumes, and all the delicacies of the table were furniſhed in the greateſt abundance, and they had the muſic of the Eaſt in its higheſt perfection. Ormus was crowded with beautiful women from all parts of Aſia, who were inſtructed from their infancy

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infancy in all the arts of varying and heightening the pleaſures of voluptuous love. In a word, univerſal opulence, an extenſive commerce, a refined luxury, politeneſs in the men, and gallantry in the women, united all their attractions to make this city the ſeat of pleaſure.

ALBUQUERQUE, on his arrival in India, began to ravage the coaſts, and to plunder the towns that belonged to the juriſdiction of Ormus: though theſe inroads, which ſhewed more of the robber than of the conqueror, were naturally repugnant to Albuquerque's character, he thought himſelf obliged to have recourſe to them, in order to induce a power he was not in a condition to ſubdue by force, to ſubmit voluntarily to the yoke he wanted to impoſe. As ſoon as he imagined the alarm was ſpread ſufficiently to favour his deſign, he appeared before the capital, and ſummoned the king to acknowledge himſelf tributary to Portugal, as he was to Perſia. This propoſal was received in the manner it deſerved. A fleet compoſed of ſhips from Ormus, Arabia, and Perſia, came to an engagement with Albuquerque's ſquadron, who with five veſſels deſtroyed the whole armament. The king, diſcouraged by his ill ſucceſs, conſented that the conqueror ſhould erect a fort which might command the city and both its harbours.

ALBUQUERQUE, who knew the importance of ſeizing the preſent conjuncture, carried on the work with the utmoſt expedition. He laboured as hard as the meaneſt of his followers; but this ſpirit of activity could not prevent the enemy from

from taking notice of the ſmallneſs of his numbers. Atar, who, in conſequence of the revolutions ſo frequent in the Eaſt, had been raiſed from the condition of a ſlave to that of a prime miniſter, was aſhamed of having ſacrificed the ſtate to a handful of adventurers. As his talent lay rather in the arts of policy than of war, he determined to repair the ill conſequences of his timidity by ſtratagem. By the arts of inſinuation and bribery, he ſucceeded ſo far in ſowing diſſenſions among the Portugueſe, and prejudicing them againſt their leader, that they were frequently ready to take arms againſt each other. This animoſity, which increaſed every day, determined them to reimbark at the inſtant they were informed that a plot was concerted to maſſacre them. Albuquerque, whoſe ſpirit roſe ſuperior to oppoſition and diſcontent, reſolved to ſtarve the place, and deprive it of ſuccours by cutting off all communication. It muſt certainly have fallen into his hands, had not three of his captains ſhamefully abandoned him, and gone off with their ſhips. To juſtify their deſertion, they were guilty of ſtill blacker perfidy, in accuſing their general of the moſt atrocious crimes.

THIS treachery obliged Albuquerque to defer the execution of his deſign for ſome time, till he had all the national troops at his command. As ſoon as he was appointed viceroy, he appeared before Ormus with ſo ſtrong an armament, that a debauched court and an effeminate people, finding it in vain to make any reſiſtance, were obliged to ſubmit. The ſovereign of Perſia had the con-

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fidence to demand tribute of the conqueror. Albuquerque ordered ſome bullets, grenades, and ſabres to be produced to the envoy, telling him, that this was the kind of tribute paid by the king of Portugal.

AFTER this expedition, the power of the Portugueſe was ſo firmly eſtabliſhed in the Arabian and Perſian gulphs, and on the Malabar coaſt, that they began to think of extending their conqueſts into the eaſtern parts of Aſia.

The Portugueſe form a ſettlement at Ceylon.

THE iſland of Ceylon, which is eighty leagues long, and thirty at its greateſt breadth, firſt preſented itſelf to Albuquerque. In the moſt remote ages of antiquity, it was well known by the name of Taprobane. We have no accounts tranſmitted to us of the revolutions it has undergone. All that hiſtory relates worthy of remark is, that the laws were formerly holden in ſuch reſpect there, that the monarch was under the ſame obligation of obſerving them as the meaneſt of his ſubjects. If he violated them he was condemned to death; with this mark of diſtinction, however, that he did not ſuffer in an ignominious manner. He was denied all intercourſe, all the comforts and ſupports of life: and, in this kind of excommunication, miſerably ended his days.

IF the people knew their own prerogatives, this cuſtom, anciently obſerved in Ceylon, would ſtill ſubſiſt in all parts of the earth; but while the ſubject only is amenable to the laws, whatever title he may give himſelf, he will be no more than a ſlave. The law is nothing, unleſs it be a ſword, acting indiſcriminately upon the head of every

every individual, and ſtriking off every thing that riſes above the horizontal direction in which it moves. The law has no authority, unleſs that authority be extended over all without exception; for in the ſight of the law, as in the ſight of God, all men are equal. The puniſhment of an individual avenges only the infraction of the law; the puniſhment of the ſovereign avenges the contempt of it. Who ſhall dare bid defiance to the law, if even the ſovereign cannot do it with impunity? The remembrance of ſo great a leſſon is perpetuated for ages, and excites a more ſalutary dread than the death of a thouſand other criminals.

When the Portugueſe landed in Ceylon they found it well peopled, and inhabited by two nations, which differed from each other in their manners, their government, and their religion. The Bedas, who were ſettled in the northern parts of the iſland, where the country was leſs fertile, were diſtinguiſhed into tribes, which conſidered themſelves as ſo many families headed by a chief, whoſe power was not abſolute. They went almoſt naked, and, upon the whole, their manners and government were the ſame with that of the Highlanders in Scotland. Theſe tribes, which unite for the common defence, have always bravely fought for their liberty, and have never invaded that of their neighbours. Their religion is little known, and it is uncertain whether they have any form of worſhip. They have little intercourſe with ſtrangers; keep a watchful eye over thoſe who travel through the

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diſtrict they inhabit; treat them well, and ſend them away as ſoon as poſſible. This caution is partly owen to the jealouſy the Bedas entertain of their wives, which contributes to eſtrange them from all the world. They ſeem to have been the firſt inhabitants of the iſland.

THE ſouthern part is poſſeſſed by a more numerous and powerful people, called Cinglaſſes. This nation is polite, in compariſon of the other. They wear clothes, and live under an arbitrary government. They have a diſtinction of caſts, as well as the Indians; but their religion is different. They acknowledge one ſupreme being, and in ſubordination to him divinities of the ſecond and third order: all which have their prieſts. Among the deities of the ſecond order, particular honours are paid to Buddou, who deſcended upon earth to take upon himſelf the office of mediator between God and mankind. The prieſts of Buddou are perſons of great conſequence in Ceylon. They are never puniſhable by the prince, even for an attempt againſt his life. The Cinglaſſes underſtand the art of war. They know how to take advantage of the natural ſecurity their mountains afford againſt the attacks of the Europeans, whom they have often defeated. Like all people who live in arbitrary ſtates, they are deceitful, ſelfiſh, and full of compliment. They have two languages: one peculiar to the people, the other to the learned. Wherever this cuſtom prevails, it furniſhes prieſts and princes with a further opportunity of impoſing upon mankind.

BOTH theſe nations enjoyed the benefits of the fruits, the corn, and the paſture which abounded in the iſland. They had elephants without number; precious ſtones, and the only kind of cinnamon that was ever eſteemed. On the northern coaſt, and on the fiſhing coaſts which border upon it, was carried on the greateſt pearl fiſhery in the Eaſt. The harbours of Ceylon were the beſt in India, and its ſituation was ſuperior to all its other advantages.

IT ſhould ſeem that it was the intereſt of the Portugueſe to have placed all their ſtrength in this iſland. It lies in the centre of the Eaſt; and is the paſſage that leads to the richeſt countries. It might have been well peopled and fortified with a ſmall number of men, and at a very little expence. The numerous ſquadrons that might have been ſent out from every port in the iſland would have kept all Aſia in awe; and the ſhips that might have cruized in thoſe latitudes, would eaſily have intercepted the trade of other nations.

THE viceroy overlooked theſe advantages. He alſo neglected the coaſt of Coromandel, though richer than that of Malabar. The merchandiſe of the latter was of an inferior quality: it produced plenty of proviſions, a ſmall quantity of bad cinnamon, ſome pepper and cardamom, a kind of ſpice much uſed by the eaſtern people. The coaſt of Coromandel furniſhed the fineſt cottons in the world. Its inhabitants, who for the moſt part were natives of the country, and had leſs intercourſe with the Arabians and other nations, were the moſt humane and induſtrious of all the

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people in Indoſtan. To this we may add, that the paſſage along the coaſt of Coromandel towards the north, leads to the mines of Golconda: and, moreover, this coaſt is admirably ſituated for the trade of Bengal and other countries.

NOTWITHSTANDING this, Albuquerque made no ſettlement there. The ſettlements of St. Thomas and Negapatan were not formed till afterwards. He knew that this coaſt was deſtitute of harbours, and inacceſſible at certain periods of the year, when it would be impoſſible for the fleets to protect the colonies. In a word, he thought that when the Portugueſe had made themſelves maſters of Ceylon, a conqueſt begun by his predeceſſor d'Almeyda, and afterwards completed, they might command the trade of Coromandel, if they got poſſeſſion of Malacca. He therefore determined to make the attempt.

The Portugueſe conquer Malacca.

THE country, of which Malacca is the capital city, is a narrow tract of land, about a hundred leagues in length. It joins to the continent towards the northern coaſt, where it borders on the ſtate of Siam, or, more properly, the kingdom of Johor, which has been ſeparated from it. The reſt is ſurrounded by the ſea, and divided from the iſland of Sumatra by a channel which is called the ſtraits of Malacca.

NATURE had amply provided for the happineſs of the Malays, by placing them in a mild, healthy climate, where refreſhing gales and cooling ſtreams allay the fervour of the torrid zone; where the ſoil pours forth an abundance of delicious fruits to ſatisfy the wants of a ſavage life; and where it

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is capable of anſwering, by cultivation, all the neceſſary demands of ſociety; where the trees wear an eternal verdure, and the flowers bloom in a perpetual ſucceſſion; where the moſt delicate and fragrant odours breathing from aromatic plants, perfume the air, and infuſe a ſpirit of voluptuous delight into all living beings.

But while nature has done every thing in favour of the Malays, ſociety has done them every poſſible injury. Such has been the influence of a tyrannical government, that the inhabitants of the happieſt country in the univerſe have become remarkable for the ferocity of their manners. The feudal ſyſtem, firſt planted among the rocks and woods of the North, had extended itſelf even to the foreſts and mild regions of the equator, where every thing conſpires to promote the enjoyment of a long life of tranquillity, which can only be ſhortened by a too frequent and exceſſive indulgence in pleaſures. This enſlaved nation is under the dominion of an arbitrary prince, or rather of twenty tyrants, his repreſentatives. Thus the deſpotiſm of a ſultan ſeems to extend its oppreſſive influence to multitudes, by being divided among a number of powerful vaſſals.

This turbulent and oppreſſive ſcene gave riſe to an univerſal ſavageneſs of manners. In vain did heaven and earth ſhower their bleſſings upon Malacca; theſe bleſſings only ſerved to make its inhabitants ungrateful and unhappy. The maſters let out their ſervices, or rather thoſe of their dependents, for hire, to the beſt bidder, regardleſs of the loſs that agriculture would ſuſtain for want

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of hands. They preferred a wandering and adventurous life, either by ſea or land, to induſtry. This people had conquered a large Archipelago, well known in the Eaſt by the name of the Malayan Iſlands. The numerous colonies that were tranſplanted thither, carried with them their laws, their manners, their cuſtoms, and, what is ſomething remarkable, the ſofteſt language in all Aſia.

THE ſituation of Malacca had, however, made it the moſt conſiderable market in India; its harbour was conſtantly crowded with veſſels either from Japan, China, the Philippine and Molucca iſlands, and the adjacent part of the eaſtern coaſt; or from Bengal, Coromandel, Malabar, Perſia, Arabia, and Africa. Theſe merchants carried on a ſafe trade among themſelves, or with the inhabitants: the paſſion of the Malays for plunder had at length given way to advantages of a more certain nature than the precarious and doubtful ſucceſs of piratical expeditions.

THE Portugueſe were deſirous of having a ſhare in the general commerce of Aſia. At firſt they appeared at Malacca in the character of merchants; but their uſurpations in India had rendered their deſigns ſo much ſuſpected, and the animoſity of the Arabians had circulated reports ſo much to their diſadvantage, that meaſures were taken to deſtroy them. They fell into the ſnares that were laid for them; ſeveral of them were maſſacred, and others thrown into priſon. Thoſe who eſcaped got back to their ſhips, and retreated to the Malabar coaſt.

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THOUGH Albuquerque did not intend to wait for a rupture to afford him a pretence of ſeizing upon Malacca, he was not diſpleaſed at this incident, ſince it gave his enterprize an appearance of juſtice that might leſſen the odium which ſuch a ſtep muſt naturally have drawn upon the Portugueſe name. As an impreſſion ſo favourable to his views might have been weakened by delay, he did not heſitate a moment to take his revenge. The enemy expected a ſudden blow; and accordingly, when he appeared before the place, in the beginning of the year 1511, he found every thing in readineſs to receive him.

BUT formidable as theſe preparations appeared, there was a ſtill greater obſtacle, which for ſome days damped the valour of the Chriſtian general: his friend Araûjo had been taken priſoner in the firſt expedition, and the enemy threatened to put him to death the moment the ſiege ſhould begin. Albuquerque, who did not want ſenſibility, pauſed at the proſpect of his friend's danger, when he received the following billet: *Think of nothing but the glory and advantage of Portugal; if I cannot contribute towards your victory, at leaſt let me not be the means of preventing it.* The place was attacked and carried after ſeveral doubtful, bloody, and obſtinate engagements. They found in it immenſe treaſure, vaſt magazines, and whatever could contribute to the elegances and pleaſures of life; and a fort was erected there to ſecure the conqueſt.

As the Portugueſe contented themſelves with the poſſeſſion of the city, the inhabitants, who profeſſed

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profeſſed a kind of corrupt Mohammediſm, and were unwilling to ſubmit to their new maſters, either retired into the inland parts, or diſperſed themſelves along the coaſt. Having loſt the ſpirit of commerce, they relapſed into all the exceſſes of their violent character. Theſe people never go without a poinard, which they call *crid*. The invention of this murderous weapon ſeems to have exhauſted all the powers of their ſanguinary genius. Nothing is more to be dreaded than ſuch men armed with ſuch an inſtrument. When they get on board a veſſel, they ſtab all the crew at the time when no harm is ſuſpected. Since their treachery has been known, all the Europeans take care never to employ a Malayan ſailor; but theſe barbarians, who always made it a rule to attack the weaker party, have now changed this ancient cuſtom, and animated by an unaccountable reſolution to kill or be killed, come in boats with thirty men to board our veſſels, and ſometimes ſucceeded in carrying them off: if they are repulſed, they have the ſatisfaction, at leaſt, of having imbrued their hands in blood.

People who derive from nature ſuch inflexible bravery, may be exterminated, but cannot be ſubdued by force. They are only to be civilized by humane treatment, by the allurements of riches or liberty, by the influence of virtue and moderation, and by a mild government. They muſt be reſtored to their rights, or left to themſelves, before we can hope to eſtabliſh any intercourſe with them. To attempt to reduce them by conqueſt,

queſt, is, perhaps, the laſt method that ſhould be tried; as it will only increaſe their abhorrence of a foreign yoke, and diſcourage them from entering into any ſocial engagements. Nature has placed certain people in the midſt of the ocean, like lions in the deſerts, that they may enjoy their liberty. Tempeſts, ſands, foreſts, mountains, and caverns, are the places of refuge and defence to all independent beings. Civilized nations ſhould take care how they invade the rights, or rouſe the ſpirits of iſlanders and ſavages: as they may be aſſured that they will become cruel and barbarous to no purpoſe; that their ravages will make them deteſted; and that diſgrace and revenge are the only laurels they can expect to obtain.

AFTER the reduction of Malacca, the kings of Siam, Pegu, and ſeveral others, alarmed at a conqueſt ſo fatal to their independence, ſent ambaſſadors to congratulate Albuquerque, to make him an offer of their trade, and to deſire an alliance with Portugal.

Settlement of the Portugueſe in the Moluccas iſlands.

AFFAIRS being in this ſituation, a ſquadron was detached from the fleet to the Moluccas. Theſe iſlands, which lie in the Indian ocean near the equinoxial, are ten in number, including as uſual thoſe of Banda. The largeſt is not more than twelve leagues in circumference, and the others are much ſmaller.

THIS cluſter of iſlands ſeems to have been thrown up by the ſea; and may with reaſon be ſuppoſed to be the effect of ſome ſubterraneous fire. Lofty mountains, the ſummits of which

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are loſt in the clouds; enormous rocks heaped one upon another; horrid and deep caverns; torrents which precipitate themſelves with extreme violence; volcanos, perpetually announcing impending deſtruction: ſuch are the phænomena that give riſe to this idea, or aſſiſt in confirming it.

It is not known who were the firſt inhabitants of theſe iſlands; but it is certain that the Javans and the Malays have ſucceſſively been in poſſeſſion of them. At the beginning of the ſixteenth century they were inhabited by a kind of ſavages, whoſe chiefs, though honoured with the title of kings, poſſeſſed only a limited authority, totally depending on the caprice of their ſubjects. They had of late years joined the ſuperſtitions of Mohammediſm to thoſe of Paganiſm, which they had profeſſed for a conſiderable time. Their indolence was exceſſive. Their only employment was hunting and fiſhing; and they were ſtrangers to all kind of agriculture. They were encouraged in their inactivity by the advantages they derived from the cocoa tree.

The cocoa tree, which grows ſpontaneouſly in almoſt every part of India, is a tree of a very beautiful form, which riſes to the height of forty, and more commonly, ſixty feet. It is fixed in the ground by a great number of ſlender and fibrous roots. Its trunk, which has a trifling bend towards the baſis, is ſtraight throughout the reſt of its length, of a cylindrical form, of moderate thickneſs, and marked with ſeveral circular inequalities,

qualities, formed by the baſis of the leaves which have fallen off from it. Its wood is of ſo light and ſpongy a nature, that it is unfit for ſhip-timber, or for any building that requires ſolidity; and the boats which are made of it are brittle, and do not laſt long. The tuft is compoſed of ten or twelve pinnated leaves, tapered towards the top, very broad at their baſis, and covered, in the infant ſtate of the tree, with a kind of net-work of which ſieves are made. Their centre coſta, which is twelve feet long, is deeply furrowed on its internal ſurface. The roofs of houſes are covered in with theſe leaves; and they are uſed in making umbrellas, ſails, and fiſhing-nets; the youngeſt of them may even ſerve inſtead of paper, and will receive the impreſſion of characters marked with a pencil. From the midſt of this tuft there ariſes a thick membranous ſpatha or ſheath, convoluted, ſwelled out in the middle, and terminating in a point. When this is grown to a certain ſize, it opens on one ſide, and diſplays a very conſiderable panicle, each ſtem of which bears two female, and a greater number of male flowers. The latter have a calix with ſix deep diviſions, and as many ſtamina; in the former, a piſtil is ſubſtituted to theſe ſtamina, and this becomes a fruit of an oval form, ſlightly triangular, and of more than ſix inches in diameter. The aſſemblage of ſeveral fruits upon the ſame panicle, is called a cluſter; and the ſame tree yields ſucceſſively ſeveral cluſters in one year.

THIS

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THIS fruit is covered with a bark conſiſting of filaments three fingers thick, and diſtinguiſhed by the name of kayar; of which ſome coarſe ſtuffs and ropes for ſhips are made. Underneath it is a very hard nut, of the ſize and ſhape of a ſmall melon; it has three holes at one of its extremities, and is fit for making ſmall cups, and other domeſtic utenſils. The pulp which lines the inſide of this nut, ſupplies a wholeſome kind of food, from which is expreſſed an oil very ſweet, when freſh, and much uſed in India. But it contracts a bitter taſte when it is kept long, and is then only proper for burning. The ſediment that remains in the preſs, affords nouriſhment for cattle, poultry, and even the lower kind of people in times of ſcarcity. The centre of the nut is filled with a clear, refreſhing, ſweetiſh kind of liquid, which ſerves to quench the thirſt of labouring people both at ſea and land. In the old fruits this fluid diſappears, and is ſucceeded by an almond, which ſoon fills up the cavity, and becomes fit for the propagation of the plant. In the centre of it is ſometimes found a ſtony concretion, to which the Indians aſcribe great virtues; they conſider it as a pledge of ſucceſs, and ſeldom fail to provide themſelves with one, when they are going upon any enterprize.

THE above-mentioned advantages are not, however, the only ones that are derived from the cocoa tree. If the buds of the flowers be cut off before they are perfectly unfolded, a white liquor runs from them, which is received into a veſſel fixed

fixed to their extremity; and is of a ſweet taſte, while it continues freſh. It afterwards turns ſour, and makes good vinegar. When diſtilled in its higheſt perfection, it produces a ſtrong brandy: and boiled with quick-lime, yields a middling kind of ſugar. The buds, from which this liquor has been drawn, neceſſarily become abortive; and do not unfold themſelves any further, becauſe they have been deprived of that ſubſtance which was deſtined for the production and nouriſhment of the fruit.

Beside the cocoa tree, the Moluccas produce a ſingular kind of palm, which is called ſago. This tree, which is common in the foreſts of theſe iſlands, differs from the former in having longer leaves, a leſs elevated trunk, and ſmaller fruits. The progreſs of its vegetation in the early ſtages is very ſlow. At firſt it is a mere ſhrub, thick ſet with thorns, which makes it difficult to come near it. But as ſoon as its ſtem is once formed, it riſes in a ſhort time to the height of thirty feet, is about ſix feet in circumference, and imperceptibly loſes its thorns. The bark is an inch thick; and all the inſide is filled with a ſap which falls into meal. The tree, which ſeems to grow merely for the uſe of man, points out the meal by a fine white powder which covers its leaves, and is a certain indication of the maturity of the ſago. It is then cut down to the root, and ſawed into ſcantlings, which are divided into four quarters, for the purpoſe of extracting the ſap or meal they contain. After this ſubſtance has been diluted in water, it is ſtrained through

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through a kind of ſieve, which retains the groſſer particles; the reſt is thrown into earthen moulds, where it dries and hardens for ſome years. The Indians eat the ſago diluted with water, and ſometimes baked or boiled. Through a principle of humanity, they reſerve the fineſt part of this meal for the aged and infirm. A jelly is ſometimes made of it, which is white and of a delicious flavour.

TEMPERATE, independent, and averſe from labour, theſe people had lived for ages upon the meal of the ſago, and the milk of the cocoa, when the Chineſe, landing by accident at the Moluccas, diſcovered the clove and the nutmeg, with which valuable ſpices the ancients were entirely unacquainted. They were ſoon admired all over India, from whence they were conveyed to Perſia and Europe. The Arabians, who at that time engroſſed almoſt all the trade of the univerſe, did not overlook ſo lucrative a part of it. They repaired in crowds to theſe celebrated iſlands, the productions of which they had already monopolized, when the Portugueſe, who purſued them every where, came and deprived them of this branch of trade. Notwithſtanding the ſchemes that were laid to ſupplant theſe conquerors, they obtained permiſſion to build a fort. From this time the court of Liſbon ranked the Moluccas among the number of their provinces, and it was not long before they really became ſo.

WHILE Albuquerque's lieutenants were enriching their country with new productions, that general was engaged in completing the conqueſt of Malabar,

Malabar, which would have taken advantage of his abſence to recover its liberty. After his late ſucceſs, while he remained unmoleſted in the centre of his conqueſts, he employed himſelf in ſuppreſſing the licentiouſneſs of the Portugueſe, in eſtabliſhing order throughout the colonies, and in regulating the diſcipline of the army. The activity, ſagacity, wiſdom, juſtice, humanity, and diſintereſtedneſs, which he had diſplayed in theſe tranſactions, and the idea of his virtues, had made ſo deep an impreſſion on the minds of the Indians, that, for a long time after his death, they continued to repair to his tomb, to demand juſtice of him for the outrages committed by his ſucceſſors. He died at Goa in the year 1515, without riches, and out of favour with Emanuel, who had been prevailed upon to entertain ſuſpicions of his conduct.

The cauſes of the enterprifing ſpirit of the Portugueſe.

If our aſtoniſhment be raiſed at the number of Albuquerque's victories, and the rapidity of his conqueſts, how deſervedly do thoſe brave men claim our admiration, whom he had the honour to command in theſe expeditions! Had any nation, before that period, been ſeen to perform ſuch great actions with ſo ſmall a force? The Portugueſe, with leſs than forty-thouſand troops, ſtruck terror into the empire of Morocco, the barbarous nations of Africa, the Mammelucs, the Arabians, and all the eaſtern countries, from the iſland of Ormus to China. With a force in the proportion of one to a hundred, they engaged troops, which, when attacked by an enemy of equal ſtrength, would frequently defend their

BOOK I. lives and poſſeſſions to the laſt extremity. What kind of men then muſt the Portugueſe have been, and what extraordinary cauſes muſt have conſpired to produce ſuch a nation of heroes?

THEY had been at war with the Moors near a century, when Henry of Burgundy, with ſeveral French knights, landed in Portugal with a deſign to ſerve in Caſtile under the famous Cid, whoſe reputation had drawn them thither. The Portugueſe invited them to lend their aſſiſtance againſt the infidels; the knights complied, and the greateſt part of them ſettled in Portugal. Chivalry, which has contributed as much as any other inſtitution to exalt human nature, ſubſtituting the love of glory to the love of our country; that refined ſpirit, drawn from the dregs of the barbarous ages, and calculated to repair or leſſen the errors and inconveniences of the feudal government from whence it took its riſe, was then revived on the banks of the Tagus, in all the ſplendour it had at its firſt appearance in France and England. The princes endeavoured to keep it alive, and to extend its influence, by eſtabliſhing ſeveral orders formed upon the plan of the ancient ones, and calculated to infuſe the ſame ſpirit, which was a mixture of heroiſm, gallantry, and devotion.

THE ſovereigns raiſed the ſpirit of the nation ſtill higher, by treating the nobility in ſome meaſure upon a footing of equality, and by ſetting bounds to their own authority. They frequently called together the general aſſembly of the ſtates, without which, properly ſpeaking, there can be

no nation. By theſe ſtates Alphonſo was inveſted with the regal authority after the taking of Liſbon: and in conjunction with them, his ſucceſſors, for a long time, exerciſed the power of making laws. Many of theſe laws were calculated to inſpire the love of great actions. The order of nobility was conferred upon thoſe who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves by ſignal ſervices; by killing or taking priſoner the enemy's general, or his ſquire: or by refuſing to purchaſe liberty, when they were priſoners among the Moors, by renouncing their religion. On the other hand, whoever inſulted a woman, gave falſe evidence, broke his promiſe, or *concealed the truth from his ſovereign*, was degraded from his rank. Has the diſcontinuance of this cuſtom been the fault of the ſubjects in not daring to tell the truth to their ſovereigns; or the fault of the ſovereigns, in their unwillingneſs to hear it?

THE wars waged by the Portugueſe in defence of their rights and liberties, were at the ſame time religious wars. They partook of that fierce but enterpriſing ſpirit of fanaticiſm, which the popes had diffuſed at the time of the cruſades. The Portugueſe, therefore, were knights armed in defence of their properties, their wives, their children, and their kings, who were knights as well as themſelves. Beſide this, they were the heroes of the cruſade, who, while they defended chriſtianity, were fighting for their country. To this may be added, that the nation was ſmall, and its power extremely limited; for it is chiefly in little ſtates, expoſed to frequent dangers, that we find

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that enthuſiaſtic fondneſs for one's country, which is utterly unknown in larger communities, enjoying greater ſecurity.

THE principles of activity, vigour, and a noble elevation of mind, which united in the character of this nation, were not loſt after the expulſion of the Moors. They purſued theſe enemies of their religion and government into Africa. They were engaged in ſeveral wars with the kings of Caſtile and Leon; and during the interval that preceded their expeditions to India, the nobility lived at a diſtance from cities and the court, and preſerved in their caſtles the virtues of their anceſtors, together with their portraits.

WHEN the plan of extending conqueſt in Africa and Aſia became the object of attention among the Portugueſe; a new paſſion co-operated with the principles juſt mentioned, to give additional energy to the Portugueſe ſpirit. This paſſion, which, at firſt, would neceſſarily exalt all the reſt, but which in a little time would deſtroy the generous principles from which they aroſe, was the thirſt of riches. The veſſels were crowded with adventurers, whoſe views were to enrich themſelves, to ſerve the ſtate, and to make proſelytes. They appeared in India to be ſomething more than men till the death of Albuquerque; but at that period, riches, which were the object and reward of their conqueſts, introduced univerſal corruption. The nobler paſſions gave way to the pleaſures of luxury, which never fail to enervate the body, and to deſtroy the virtues of the mind. The weak ſucceſſors of the illuſtrious Emanuel,

Emanuel, and the men of indifferent talents, whom he himſelf ſent as viceroys to India, gradually contributed to the degeneracy of the Portugueſe.

LOPEZ-SOAREZ, however, who ſucceeded Albuquerque, purſued his deſigns. He aboliſhed a barbarous cuſtom that prevailed in the country of Travencor, in the neighbourhood of Calicut. The inhabitants of this region conſulted ſorcerers concerning the deſtiny of their children: if the magician promiſed a happy deſtiny, they were ſuffered to live; if he foretold any great calamities that were to befall them, they were put to death. Soarez interpoſed to preſerve theſe children. He was for ſome time employed in preventing the oppoſition with which the Portugueſe were threatened in India; and as ſoon as he was relieved from this anxiety, he reſolved to attempt a paſſage to China.

Arrival of the Portugueſe at China. State of the empire.

THE great Albuquerque had formed the ſame deſign. He had met with Chineſe ſhips and merchants at Malacca, and conceived a high opinion of a nation whoſe very ſailors had more politeneſs, a better ſenſe of decorum, more good-nature and humanity, than were, at that time, to be found among the European nobility. He invited the Chineſe to continue their commerce with Malacca. From them he procured a particular account of the ſtrength, riches, and manners of their extenſive empire, and communicated his intelligence to the court of Portugal.

THE Chineſe nation was utterly unknown in Europe. Mark Paul, a Venetian, who had tra-

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velled to China by land, had given a deſcription of it which was looked upon as fabulous. It correſponded, however, with the particulars ſince tranſmitted by Albuquerque. Credit was given to the teſtimony of this commander, and to his account of the lucrative trade that might be carried on with this country.

In the year 1518 a ſquadron ſailed from Liſbon to convoy an ambaſſador to China. As ſoon as it arrived at the iſlands in the neighbourhood of Canton, it was ſurrounded by Chineſe veſſels, which came to reconnoitre it. Ferdinand Andrada, who commanded it, did not put himſelf in any poſture of defence; he ſuffered the Chineſe to come on board; communicated the object of his voyage to the mandarins that preſided at Canton, and ſent his ambaſſador on ſhore, who was conducted to Pekin.

The ambaſſador was every moment preſented with ſome new wonder, that ſtruck him with amazement. If we conſider the largeneſs of the towns, the multitude of villages, the variety of canals, of which ſome are navigable acroſs the empire, and others contribute to the fertility of the ſoil; the art of cultivating their lands, and the abundance and variety of their productions; the ſagacious and mild aſpect of the inhabitants, the perpetual interchange of good offices which appeared in the country and on the public roads, and the good order preſerved among thoſe numberleſs crowds who were engaged in the hurry of buſineſs; we ſhall not wonder at the ſurpriſe of the Portugueſe ambaſſador, who had been accuſtomed

tomed to the barbarous and ridiculous manners of Europe.

State of China according to the panegyrists of that country.

Let us for a while fix our attention upon a people, who have been judged of ſo differently by the Europeans. Let us compare the accounts given of them by their panegyriſts, with thoſe which have been tranſmitted to us by their calumniators; and we may poſſibly derive from this contraſt, ſome light that may tend to conciliate theſe contradictory opinions. The hiſtory of a nation ſo well governed, ſay the partiſans of China, is the hiſtory of mankind: the reſt of the world reſembles the chaos of matter before it was wrought into form. After a long ſeries of devaſtation, ſociety has at length riſen to order and harmony. States and nations are produced from each other, like individuals, with this difference, that in families nature brings about the death of ſome, and provides for the birth of others, in a conſtant and regular ſucceſſion; but in ſtates, this rule is violated and deſtroyed by the diſorders of ſociety, where it ſometimes happens that ancient monarchies ſtifle riſing republics in their births, and that a rude and ſavage people, ruſhing like a torrent, ſweep away multitudes of ſtates, which are diſunited and broken in pieces.

China alone has been exempted from this fatality. This empire, bounded on the north by Ruſſian Tartary, on the ſouth by India, on the weſt by Thibet, and on the eaſt by the ocean, comprehends almoſt all the eaſtern extremity of the continent of Aſia. It is eighteen hundred leagues in circumference, and is ſaid to have

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lasted through a successive series of four thousand years: nor is this antiquity in the least to be wondered at. The narrow bounds of our history, and the small extent of our kingdoms, which rise and fall in a quick succession, are the consequence of wars, superstition, and the unfavourable circumstances of our situation. But the Chinese, who are encompassed and defended on all sides by seas and deserts, like the ancient Egyptians, may have given a lasting stability to their empire. As soon as their coasts and the inland parts of their territories have been peopled and cultivated, this happy nation must of course have been the centre of attraction to all the surrounding people; and the wandering or cantoned tribes must necessarily have gradually attached themselves to a body of men, who speak less frequently of the conquests they have made, than of the attacks they have suffered; and are happier in the thought of having civilized their conquerors, than they could have been in that of having destroyed their invaders.

In a country where a civilized government has been so anciently established, we may every where expect to find strong vestiges of the continued exertions of industry. Its roads have been levelled with the exactest care; and, in general, have no greater declivity than is necessary to facilitate the watering of the land, which the Chinese consider, with reason, as one of the greatest helps in agriculture. There are but few, even of the most useful trees, because their fruits would rob the corn of its nourishment. We cannot

not therefore expect to meet here with thoſe gardens full of flowers, verdant lawns, groves, and fountains, the ſight of which is calculated to exhilarate the idle ſpectator, while they ſeem concealed and removed from the public eye, as if the owners were afraid of ſhewing how much their amuſements had encroached upon the ſoil that ought to be cultivated for the ſupport of life. The land is not overcharged with thoſe parks or extenſive foreſts, which are not near ſo ſerviceable to mankind by the wood they furniſh, as prejudicial by preventing agriculture; and while they contribute to the pleaſure of the great by the beaſts that range in them, prove a real misfortune to the huſbandman. In China, the beauty of a country-ſeat conſiſts in its being happily ſituated, ſurrounded with an agreeable variety of cultivated fields, and interſperſed with trees planted irregularly, and with ſome heaps of a porous ſtone, which at a diſtance have the appearance of rocks or mountains.

The hills are generally cut into terraces, ſupported by dry walls. Here there are reſervoirs, conſtructed with ingenuity, for the reception of rain and ſpring water. It is not uncommon to ſee the bottom, ſummit, and declivity of a hill watered by the ſame canal, by means of a number of engines of a ſimple conſtruction, which ſave manual labour, and perform with two men, what could not be done with a thouſand any where elſe. Theſe heights commonly yield three crops in a year. They are firſt ſown with a kind of radiſh, which produces an oil; then with cotton, and after

BOOK I. after that with potatoes. This is the common method of culture; but the rule is not without exception.

Upon moſt of the mountains which are incapable of being cultivated for the ſubſiſtence of man, proper trees are planted for building houſes or ſhips. Many of theſe mountains contain iron, tin, and copper mines, ſufficient to ſupply the empire. The gold mines have been neglected, either becauſe their produce did not defray the expence of working them, or becauſe the gold duſt, waſhed down by the torrents, was found ſufficient for the purpoſes of exchange.

The ſandy plains, ſaved from the ravages of the ocean (which changes its bed as rivers do their courſe, in a ſpace of time ſo exactly proportioned to the difference in the maſs of water, that a ſmall encroachment of the ſea cauſes a thouſand revolutions on the ſurface of the globe), form, at this day, the provinces of Nankin and Tchekiang, which are the fineſt in the empire. As the Egyptians checked the courſe of the Nile, the Chineſe have repulſed, reſtrained, and given laws to the ocean. They have re-united to the continent, tracts of land which had been disjoined by this element. To the action of the univerſe the Chineſe oppoſe the labours of induſtry; and while nations, the moſt celebrated in hiſtory, have, by the rage of conqueſt, increaſed the ravages which time is perpetually making upon this globe, they exert ſuch efforts to retard the progreſs of univerſal devaſtation, as might appear

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ſupernatural, if they were not continual and evident.

To the improvements of land, this nation adds, if we may be allowed the expreſſion, the improvement of the water. The rivers, which communicate with each other by canals, and run under the walls of moſt of the towns, preſent us with the proſpect of floating cities, compoſed of an infinite number of boats filled with people, who live conſtantly upon the water, and whoſe ſole employment is fiſhing. The ſea itſelf is covered with numberleſs veſſels, whoſe maſts, at a diſtance, appear like moving foreſts. Anſon mentions it as a reproach to the fiſhermen belonging to theſe boats, that they did not give themſelves a moment's intermiſſion from their work to look at his ſhip, which was the largeſt that had ever anchored in thoſe latitudes. But this inattention to an object, which appeared to a Chineſe ſailor of no uſe, though it was in the way of his profeſſion, is, perhaps, a proof of the happineſs of a people, who prefer buſineſs to matters of mere curioſity.

The mode of cultivation is by no means uniform throughout this empire, but varies according to the nature of the ſoil and the difference of the climate. In the low countries towards the ſouth rice is ſown, which being always under water, grows to a great ſize, and yields two crops in a year. In the inland parts of the country, where the ſituation is lofty and dry, the ſoil produces a ſpecies of rice, which is neither ſo large, ſo well-taſted, or ſo nouriſhing as the former, and makes the huſbandman but one return in the year for his labour.

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labour. In the northern parts, the ſame kinds of grain are cultivated as in Europe: they grow in as great plenty, and are of as good a quality as in any of our moſt fertile countries. From one end of China to the other, there are large quantities of vegetables, particularly in the ſouth, where, together with fiſh, they ſupply the place of meat, which is the general food of the other provinces. But the improvement of lands is univerſally underſtood and attended to. All the different kinds of manure are carefully preſerved, and ſkilfully diſtributed to the beſt advantage; and that which ariſes from fertile lands, is applied to make them ſtill more fertile. This grand ſyſtem of nature, which is ſuſtained by deſtruction and re-production, is better underſtood and attended to in China than in any other country in the world.

THE firſt cauſe of the rural œconomy of the Chineſe, is that character of induſtry by which theſe people are particularly diſtinguiſhed, who in their nature require a leſs ſhare of repoſe. Every day in the year is devoted to labour, except the firſt, which is employed in paying and receiving viſits among relations; and the laſt, which is ſacred to the memory of their anceſtors. The firſt is a ſocial duty, the latter a part of domeſtic worſhip. In this nation of ſages, whatever unites and civiliſes mankind is religion: and religion itſelf is nothing more than the practice of the ſocial virtues. They are a ſober and rational people, who want nothing more than the controul of civil laws to make them juſt: their private worſhip conſiſts in the love of their pa-

rents, whether living or dead; and their publie worſhip, in the love of labour; and that kind of labour which is holden in the moſt ſacred veneration is agriculture.

THE generoſity of two of their emperors is much revered, who, preferring the intereſts of the ſtate to thoſe of their family, kept their own children from the throne to make room for men taken from the plough. The Chineſe alſo revere the memory of thoſe huſbandmen, who ſowed the ſeeds of the happineſs and ſtability of the empire in the fertile boſom of the earth; that inexhauſtible ſource of whatever conduces to the nouriſhment, and conſequently to the increaſe of mankind.

IN imitation of theſe royal huſbandmen, the emperors of China become huſbandmen officially. It is one of their public functions to break up the ground in the ſpring: and the parade and magnificence that accompanies this ceremony, draws together all the farmers in the neighbourhood of the capital. They flock in crowds to ſee their prince perform this ſolemnity in honour of the firſt of all the arts. It is not, as in the fables of Greece, a god who tends the flocks of a king; it is the father of his people, who, holding the plough with his own hands, ſhews his children what are the true riches of the ſtate. In a little time he repairs again to the field he has ploughed himſelf, to ſow the ſeed that is moſt proper for the ground. The example of the prince is followed in all the provinces; and at the ſame ſeaſons, the viceroys

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viceroys repeat the ſame ceremonies in the preſence of a numerous concourſe of huſbandmen. The Europeans, who have been preſent at this ſolemnity at Canton, never ſpeak of it without emotion; and make us regret that this feſtival, the political aim of which is the encouragement of labour, is not eſtabliſhed in our climate, inſtead of that number of religious feaſts, which ſeem to be invented by idleneſs to make the country a barren waſte.

It is not to be imagined, however, that the court of Pekin is really engaged in the labours of a rural life. The arts of luxury are grown to ſo great a height in China, that theſe tranſactions can only paſs for mere ceremonies. But the law, which obliges the prince to ſhew this token of reſpect to the profeſſion of huſbandmen, has a tendency to promote the advantage of agriculture. The deference paid by the ſovereign to public opinions contributes to perpetuate them; and the influence of opinion is the principal ſpring that actuates the political machine.

This influence is preſerved in China by conferring honours on all huſbandmen, who excel in the cultivation of the ground. When any uſeful diſcovery is made, the author of it is called to court to communicate it to the prince; and is ſent by the government into the provinces, to inſtruct them in this method. In a word, in this country, where nobility is not hereditary, but a mere perſonal reward, indiſcriminately beſtowed upon merit; ſeveral of the magiſtrates, and perſons

ſons raiſed to the higheſt employments in the empire, are choſen out of families which are ſolely employed in the cultivation of land.

THESE encouragements which belong to the manners of the people, are further ſeconded by the beſt political inſtitutions. Whatever is in its nature incapable of being divided, as the ſea, rivers, canals, &c. is enjoyed in common, and is the property of no individual. Every one has the liberty of going upon the water, of fiſhing, and hunting; and a ſubject who is in poſſeſſion of an eſtate, whether acquired by himſelf or left by his relations, is in no danger of having his right called in queſtion by the tyrannical authority of the feudal laws.

THE ſmallneſs of the taxes is ſtill a further encouragement to agriculture. Except the cuſtoms eſtabliſhed in the ſea-ports, there are but two kinds of tribute known in the empire. The firſt, which is perſonal, is paid by every citizen from twenty to ſixty years of age, in proportion to his income. The ſecond, which is levied on the produce of the land, amounts to a tenth, a twentieth, or a thirtieth part, according to the quality of the ſoil. There certainly have been ſome of their emperors, or miniſters, who have attempted to extend and multiply the taxes; but as ſuch an undertaking would require much time, and that no man could flatter himſelf that he ſhould live to ſee the ſucceſs of it, the attempt has been given up. Men of bad principles aim at immediate enjoyment, while the virtuous miniſter, extending his benevolent views beyond the preſent genera-

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tion, contents himſelf with forming deſigns, and propagating uſeful truths for the advantage of poſterity, without expecting to ſee the effect of them himſelf.

THE manner of levying the contributions in China, is as mild as the contributions themſelves. The only penalty inflicted on perſons liable to be taxed, and who are too ſlow in the payment of the tribute demanded by the public, is to quarter old, infirm, and poor people upon them, to be maintained at their expence, till they have diſcharged the debt due to government. This manner of proceeding has a tendency to awaken pity and humanity in the breaſt of a citizen, when he ſees miſerable objects, and hears the cries of hunger; inſtead of giving him diſguſt, and exciting his reſentment by the odious perquiſitions and reſearches of the finance as practiſed in Europe, by forcible ſeizures and the menaces of an inſolent ſoldiery, who come to live at diſcretion in a houſe expoſed to the numberleſs extortions of the treaſury.

THE mandarins levy the tenth part of the produce of the earth in kind; and collect the poll-tax in money. The officers in the municipal towns pay the whole of the produce into the public treaſury, through the hands of the receiver-general of the province. The uſe that is made of this revenue prevents all frauds in collecting it; as it is well known, that a part of theſe duties is allotted for the maintenance of the magiſtrates and ſoldiers. The money ariſing from the ſale of this proportion of the product of the lands which has

has been expoſed to ſale, is never iſſued from the treaſury but in public exigencies. It is laid up in the magazines againſt times of ſcarcity, when the people receive what they had only lent, as it were, in times of plenty.

It may naturally be expected that a nation, enjoying ſo many advantages, would be extremely populous; eſpecially in a climate where, whatever reaſon may be aſſigned for it, the women are remarkably prolific; where debauchery is very uncommon; where the extent of paternal rights neceſſarily excites the deſire of having a numerous progeny; where an equality of fortunes prevails, which the difference of conditions renders impoſſible in other places; where the mode of living is generally ſimple, little expenſive, and tending always to the moſt rigid œconomy; where wars are neither frequent nor deſtructive; where celibacy is proſcribed by the manners of the country; and where the healthineſs of the climate prevents epidemic diſeaſes. Accordingly, there is no country in the univerſe ſo populous as this. The population is indeed carried to too great a height, ſince it appears from the records of the empire, that a bad harveſt ſeldom fails to produce an inſurrection.

It is unneceſſary to ſearch beyond this circumſtance for the reaſons which prevent deſpotiſm from making any advances in China. It is evident from theſe frequent revolutions, that the people are fully ſenſible that a regard to the rights of property, and ſubmiſſion to the laws, are duties of a ſecondary claſs, ſubordinate to

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the original rights of nature, whoſe only view, in the formation of communities, has been the common benefit of thoſe who enter into them. Accordingly, when the more immediate neceſſaries of life fail, the Chineſe ceaſe to acknowledge an authority which does not provide for their ſubſiſtence. The right of kings is founded on the regard they pay to the preſervation of the people. Neither religion nor morality teach any other doctrine in China.

THE emperor is well aware, that he preſides over a people who ſubmit to the laws no longer than while they promote their happineſs. He is ſenſible, that if the ſpirit of tyranny, which is ſo common and epidemical in other countries, ſhould ſeize him but for a moment, ſuch a violent oppoſition would be raiſed, that he would be expelled from the throne. Accordingly, finding himſelf inveſted with the ſupreme command by a people who obſerve and criticiſe his conduct, he is far from attempting to erect himſelf into an object of religious ſuperſtition, which ſets no bounds to its authority. He does not violate the ſacred contract, by virtue of which he holds the ſceptre. He is convinced that the people are ſo well acquainted with their rights, and know ſo well how to defend them, that whenever a province complains of the mandarin who governs it, he recalls him without examination, and delivers him up to a tribunal, which proceeds againſt him if he be in fault; but ſhould he even prove innocent, he is not reinſtated in his employment; for even the circumſtance of its having been poſſible for

for him to excite the reſentment of the people, is imputed to him as a crime. He is conſidered as an ignorant tutor, who attempts to deprive a father of the love his children bear him. This compliance, which, in other countries, would nouriſh perpetual diſcontent, and occaſion an infinite number of intrigues, is not attended with any inconvenience in China, where the inhabitants are naturally diſpoſed to be mild and juſt, and the conſtitution of the ſtate is ſo ordered, that its delegates have ſeldom any rigorous commands to execute.

This obligation the prince is under of being juſt, tends to make him more wiſe and intelligent. He is in China what we wiſh to make princes in all countries believe they are, the idol of his people. It ſhould ſeem that the manners and laws of this country have mutually conſpired to eſtabliſh this fundamental principle, that China is a family of which the emperor is the patriarch. It is not as a conqueror, or a legiſlator, that he holds his authority; but as a father: it is by this tie that he governs, rewards, and puniſhes. This pleaſing ſentiment gives him a greater ſhare of power, than the tyrants of other nations can poſſibly derive from the number of their troops, or the artifices of their miniſters. It is not to be imagined what eſteem and affection the Chineſe have for their emperor; or, as they expreſs it, for their common, their univerſal father.

This public veneration is founded upon that which is eſtabliſhed by private education. In China, the father and mother claim an abſolute

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right over their children at every period of life, even when raiſed to the higheſt dignity. Paternal authority and filial affection are the ſprings of this empire: they regulate the manners, and are the tie that unites the prince to his ſubjects, the ſubjects to their prince, and the citizens to one another. The Chineſe government, by the gradual perfection it has acquired, has been brought back to that point from which all other governments ſeem to have finally and irrevocably degenerated; to the patriarchal government, which is that of nature itſelf.

THIS ſublime ſyſtem of morals, which for ſo many ages has contributed to the proſperity of the Chineſe empire, would, however, probably have experienced an inſenſible change, if the chimerical diſtinctions allowed to birth had deſtroyed that original equality eſtabliſhed by nature among mankind, and which ought only to give way to ſuperior abilities and ſuperior merit. In all the ſtates of Europe, there are a ſet of men who aſſume from their infancy a pre-eminence independent of their moral character. The attention paid them from the moment of their birth, gives them the idea that they are formed for command; they ſoon learn to conſider themſelves as a diſtinct ſpecies, and being ſecure of a certain rank and ſtation, take no pains to make themſelves worthy of it.

THIS inſtitution, to which we owe ſo many indifferent miniſters, ignorant magiſtrates, and bad generals, is not eſtabliſhed in China, where nobility does not deſcend by hereditary right. The fame any citizen acquires, begins and ends with himſelf.

himſelf. The ſon of the prime miniſter of the empire has no advantages at the moment of his birth, but thoſe he may have derived from nature. The rank of nobility is ſometimes conferred upon the anceſtors of a man who has done ſignal ſervices to his country; but this mark of diſtinction, which is merely perſonal, dies with its poſſeſſor, and his children derive no other advantage from it than the memory and example of his virtues.

In conſequence of this perfect equality, the Chineſe are enabled to eſtabliſh an uniform ſyſtem of education, and to inculcate correſpondent principles. It is no difficult taſk to perſuade men who are upon an equal footing by birth, that they are all brethren. This opinion gives them every advantage which a contrary idea would make them loſe. A Chineſe, who ſhould abſtract himſelf from this common fraternity, would become a ſolitary and miſerable being, and wander as a ſtranger in the heart of his country.

Instead of thoſe frivolous diſtinctions which are allotted to birth in almoſt every other country, the Chineſe ſubſtitute real ones, founded entirely on perſonal merit. A ſet of wiſe and intelligent men, who are honoured with the title of the learned mandarins, devote themſelves to the ſtudy of all ſciences neceſſary to qualify them for the adminiſtration of public affairs. None can be admitted into this reſpectable ſociety, who are not recommended by their talents and knowledge; for riches give no claim to this privilege. The mandarins themſelves fix upon proper perſons to

BOOK I. associate with them; and their choice is always the reſult of a ſtrict examination. There are different claſſes of mandarins, the ſucceſſion to which is regulated by merit, and not by ſeniority.

From this body of mandarins, the emperor, according to a cuſtom as ancient as the empire, elects miniſters, magiſtrates, governors of provinces, and officers of every denomination who are called to any employment in the ſtate. As his choice can only fall upon men of tried abilities, the welfare of the people is always lodged in the hands of thoſe who are worthy of ſuch a truſt.

In conſequence of this inſtitution, no dignity is hereditary except that of the crown; and even that does not always devolve on the eldeſt ſon; but on him whom the emperor and the council of mandarins judge moſt worthy. By this method, a ſpirit of virtuous emulation prevails even in the imperial family. The throne is given to merit alone, and it is aſſigned to the heir only in conſideration of his abilities. The emperors rather chuſe to look for a ſucceſſor in a different family, than to intruſt the reins of government to unſkilful hands.

The viceroys and magiſtrates enjoy the affection of the people, at the ſame time that they partake of the authority of the ſovereign; and any miſtakes in their adminiſtration meet with the ſame indulgence that is ſhewn to thoſe of the ſupreme legiſlator. They have not that tendency to ſedition which prevails in this part of the world. In China there is no ſet of men to form or manage a faction: as the mandarins have no rich and powerful

ful family connections, they can derive no support but from the crown, and their own wiſdom. They are trained up in a way of thinking that inſpires humanity, the love of order, beneficence, and reſpect for the laws. They take pains to inculcate theſe ſentiments into the people, and ſecure their attachment to every law, by pointing out to them its uſeful tendency. The ſovereign paſſes no edict that does not convey ſome moral or political inſtruction. The people neceſſarily become acquainted with their intereſts, and the meaſures taken by government to promote them; and the better informed they are, the more likely they will be to remain quiet.

SUPERSTITION, which excites diſturbances in all other countries, and either eſtabliſhes tyranny, or overthrows government, has no influence in China. It is tolerated, injudiciouſly perhaps, by the laws: but, at leaſt, it never makes laws itſelf. No perſon can have any ſhare in the government who does not belong to the claſs of literati, who admit of no ſuperſtition. The bonzes are not allowed to ground the duties of morality upon the doctrines of their ſects, nor conſequently to diſpenſe with them. If they impoſe upon ſome part of the nation, their artifices do not affect thoſe whoſe example and authority are of the greateſt importance to the ſtate.

CONFUCIUS, in whoſe actions and diſcourſes precept was joined to example, whoſe memory is equally revered, and whoſe doctrine is equally embraced by all claſſes and ſects whatſoever, was the founder of the national religion of China.

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His code contains a ſyſtem of natural law, which ought to be the ground-work of all religions, the rule of ſociety, and ſtandard of all governments. He taught, that reaſon was an emanation of the Deity; and that the ſupreme law conſiſted in the harmony between nature and reaſon. The religion that runs in oppoſition to theſe two guides of human life, does not come from heaven.

As the Chineſe have no term for God, they ſay that heaven is God. *But*, ſays the emperor Changchi, in an edict publiſhed in 1710, *it is not to the viſible and material heaven that we offer our ſacrifices, but to the Lord of heaven.* Thus atheiſm, though not uncommon in China, is not publicly profeſſed. It is neither the characteriſtic of a ſect, nor an object of perſecution; but is tolerated as well as ſuperſtition.

The emperor, who is ſole pontiff, is likewiſe the judge in matters of religion; but as the national worſhip was made for the government, not the government for it; and as both were deſigned to be ſubſervient to the ends of ſociety; it is neither the intereſt nor inclination of the ſovereign to employ the combination of authority lodged in his hands, for the purpoſes of oppreſſion. If on the one hand the doctrines and ceremonies of the hierarchy do not prevent the prince from making an ill uſe of abſolute authority; he is more powerfully reſtrained on the other, by the general influence of the national manners.

Any attempt to change theſe manners would be attended with the greateſt difficulty, becauſe they are inculcated by a mode of education which is,

is, perhaps, the beſt we are acquainted with. The Chineſe do not make a point of inſtructing their children till they are five years old. They are then taught to write words or hieroglyphics, which repreſent ſenſible objects, of which at the ſame time they endeavour to give them clear ideas. Afterwards, their memory is ſtored with ſententious verſes containing precepts of morality, which they are taught to reduce to practice. As they advance in years they are inſtructed in the philoſophy of Confucius. This is the manner of education among the ordinary ranks. The children who may aſpire to poſts of honour, begin in the ſame manner; but intermix other ſtudies relative to human conduct in the different ſtations of life.

In China, the manners take their complexion from the laws, and are preſerved by common uſage, which is likewiſe preſcribed by the laws. The Chineſe have a greater number of precepts, relating to the moſt common actions, than any other people in the world. Their code of politeneſs is very voluminous; the loweſt citizen is inſtructed in it, and obſerves it with the ſame exactneſs as the mandarins and the court.

The laws in this code, like all the reſt, are formed with a view of keeping up the opinion that China is but one great family, and of promoting that regard and mutual affection in the citizens, which is due to each other as brethren. Theſe rights and cuſtoms tend to preſerve the manners. Sometimes, indeed, ceremonies are ſubſtituted for ſentiment; but how often are they the means of reviving

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reviving it! They compoſe a kind of conſtant homage that is paid to virtue; and is calculated to engage the attention of youth. This homage preſerves the reſpect due to virtue herſelf; and if it ſometimes leads to hypocriſy, it encourages at leaſt a laudable zeal. Tribunals are erected to take cognizance of tranſgreſſions againſt cuſtom; as well as to puniſh crimes, and reward merit. Mild and moderate puniſhments are inflicted upon crimes, and virtue is diſtinguiſhed by marks of honour. Honour is therefore one of the principles that actuate the Chineſe government: and though it be the leading one, it operates more ſtrongly than fear, and more feebly than affection.

UNDER the influence of ſuch inſtitutions, China muſt be the country in the whole world where men are moſt humane. Accordingly, the humanity of the Chineſe is conſpicuous on thoſe occaſions, where it ſhould ſeem that virtue could have no other object but juſtice; and that juſtice could not be executed without ſeverity. Their priſoners are confined in neat and commodious apartments, where they are well taken care of, even to the moment when they ſuffer. It frequently happens, that the only puniſhment inflicted on a rich man amounts to no more than obliging him, for a certain time, to maintain or clothe ſome old men and orphans at his own expence. Our moral and political romances form the real hiſtory of the Chineſe, who have regulated all the actions of men with ſuch an exact nicety, that they have ſcarcely any need of ſentiment.

Yet

Yet they do not fail to cultivate the latter, in order to give a proper eſtimation to the former.

THE ſpirit of patriotiſm, that ſpirit, without which ſtates are mere colonies, and not nations, is ſtronger, perhaps, and more active among the Chineſe, than it is found in any republic. It is common to ſee them voluntarily contributing their labour to repair the public roads: the rich build places of ſhelter upon them for the uſe of travellers; and others plant trees there. Such actions, which are proofs of a beneficent humanity rather than an oſtentation of generoſity, are far from being uncommon in China.

THERE have been times, when they have been frequent, and others, when they have been leſs ſo; but the corruption which was the cauſe of the latter, brought on a revolution, and the manners of the people were reformed. They ſuffered by the late invaſion of the Tartars: they are now recovering, in proportion as the princes of that victorious nation lay aſide the ſuperſtitions of their own country, to adopt the principles of the nation they have conquered; and in proportion as they improve in the knowledge of thoſe books which the Chineſe call canonical.

IT cannot be long before we ſee the amiable character of this nation entirely revived; that fraternal and kindred principle; thoſe enchanting and ſocial ties, which ſoften the manners of the people, and attach them inviolably to the laws. Political errors and vices cannot take deep root in a country where no perſons are ever promoted to public employments, but ſuch as are of the ſect of the learned,

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learned, whoſe ſole occupation is to inſtruct themſelves in the principles of morality and government. As long as real knowledge ſhall be holden in eſtimation, as long as it ſhall continue to lead to public honours, there will exiſt among the people of China a fund of reaſon and virtue, which will not be found among other nations.

It muſt, however, be acknowledged, that the greateſt part of thoſe improvements, which depend upon theories that are in the leaſt complicated, are not ſo far advanced there, as might naturally be expected from that ancient, active, and diligent people, who have ſo long had a clue to them. But this circumſtance is not inexplicable. The Chineſe language requires a long and laborious ſtudy, ſcarcely to be comprehended within the term of a man's life. The rights and ceremonies which they obſerve upon every occaſion, afford more exerciſe for their memory than their ſenſibility. Their manners are calculated to check the impulſes of the ſoul, and weaken its operations. Too aſſiduous in the purſuit of what is uſeful, they have no opportunity of launching out into the extenſive regions of imagination. An exceſſive veneration for antiquity, makes them the ſlaves of whatever is eſtabliſhed. All theſe cauſes united, muſt neceſſarily have ſtifled, among the Chineſe, the ſpirit of invention. It requires ages with them to bring any thing to perfection; and whoever reflects on the ſtate in which arts and ſciences were found among them three hundred years ago, muſt be convinced of the extraordinary antiquity of their empire.

THE

THE low ſtate of learning, and of the fine arts in China, may perhaps be further owen to the very perfection of its government, and ſyſtem of policy. This paradox has its foundation in reaſon. Where the ſtudy of the laws holds the firſt rank in a nation, and is rewarded with an appointment in the adminiſtration inſtead of a poſt in an academy; where learning is applied to the regulation of manners, or the maintenance of the public weal; where the ſame nation is exceedingly populous, and requires a conſtant attention in its learned members to make ſubſiſtence keep an equal pace with population; where every individual, beſide the duties he owes to the public, which take a conſiderable time to be well underſtood, has particular duties ariſing from the claims of his family or profeſſion: in ſuch a nation, the ſpeculative and ornamental parts of ſcience cannot be expected to arrive at that height of ſplendour they have attained in Europe. But the Chineſe, who are only our ſcholars in the arts of luxury and vanity, are our maſters in the ſcience of good government. They can teach us the art of increaſing population, not that of deſtroying it.

ONE of the arts in which the Chineſe have made the leaſt progreſs, is that of war. It is natural to imagine, that a nation, whoſe whole conduct, like that of infants, is influenced by ceremonies, precepts, and cuſtoms either of private or public inſtitution, muſt conſequently be pliant, moderate, and inclined to tranquillity both at home and abroad. Reaſon and reflection, while they cheriſh ſentiments like theſe, leave no room for that

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that enthuſiaſm, which conſtitutes the hero and the warrior. The ſpirit of humanity, which they imbibe in their tender years, makes them look with abhorrence on thoſe ſanguinary ſcenes of rapine and maſſacre, that are ſo familiar to nations of a warlike turn. With ſuch diſpoſitions, can we wonder that the Chineſe are not warriors? They have ſoldiers without number, but totally undiſciplined, except in the ſingle article of obedience, and which are ſtill more deficient in military manœuvres than in courage. In their wars with the Tartars, the Chineſe knew not how to fight, and only ſtood to be killed. Their attachment to their government, their country, and their laws, may ſupply the want of a warlike ſpirit, but will never ſupply the want of good arms and military ſkill. When a nation has found the art of ſubduing its conquerors by its manners, it has no occaſion to overcome its enemies by force of arms.

Is there a man who can look with ſo much indifference upon the happineſs of a conſiderable portion of the human race, as not to wiſh that the ſtate of China were really ſuch as we have been repreſenting it? Let us, however, attend to what thoſe perſons have to ſay upon the ſubject, who think themſelves warranted in entertaining a contrary opinion.

State of China according to the accounts of the calumniators of that empire.

In order to judge, ſay theſe people, of a nation, equally cloſed on all ſides, ſince foreigners are not permitted to enter into it, and the natives are prohibited from going out of it, it is neceſſary to ſet out from ſome principles, which however

ever uncertain they may be, are ſtill received as ſound principles. Theſe ſhall be the very facts that are alleged by the panegyriſts of China. We ſhall take them for granted, without entering into a diſcuſſion of them; and we ſhall only draw the concluſions that are neceſſarily derived from them.

1. CHINA enjoyed, or was under the calamity of an immenſe population, when it was conquered by the Tartars; and it is concluded, from the circumſtance of the laws having been adopted by the conqueror, that they muſt have been wiſe laws.

THIS ſubmiſſion of the Tartars to the Chineſe government, does not appear to us to be a proof of its excellence. It is in the nature of things that great bodies ſhould give the law to little ones; and this rule is obſerved in morality as well as in philoſophy. If we therefore compare the number of the conquerors with that of the vanquiſhed people, we ſhall find that to one Tartar there were fifty thouſand Chineſe. Is it poſſible that one individual ſhould alter the cuſtoms, manners, and legiſlation of fifty thouſand men? Beſides, how could it happen otherwiſe than that theſe Tartars ſhould have adopted the Chineſe laws, when they had none of their own to ſubſtitute to them? The circumſtances which this extraordinary revolution moſt conſpicuouſly diſplays, are the cowardice of the nation, and its indifference for its maſters, which is one of the moſt ſtriking characteriſtics of the ſlave. Let us proceed to conſider the population of China.

2. FROM

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2. From time immemorial agriculture has been honoured in China: this is a fact upon which all are agreed. Every country addicted to husbandry, and which enjoys a long continuance of peace; which does not experience any bloody revolutions; which is neither oppressed by tyranny, nor exposed to devastation by the diseases of the climate; and where we see the laborious citizen collecting in the plain a basket full of earth, carrying it up to the tops of the mountains, covering the naked point of a rock with it, and keeping it in its situation by little palisades; such a country must infallibly abound with inhabitants. Would these inhabitants indeed employ themselves in extravagant labours, if the plain from which they have gathered this small parcel of land, were uncultivated, deserted, and abandoned to the first man who might be desirous of possessing it? If the people were at liberty to extend themselves into the country, would they remain clustered together in the neighbourhood of the cities? The empire of China is therefore very well peopled in all its parts.

The country is intersected by a great number of canals; which would be useless, if they did not establish a frequent and necessary communication between one place and another. What can these things imply, unless it be a great deal of internal motion, and consequently a very considerable degree of population?

Every country subsisting by husbandry, where dearths are frequent, and where those dearths occasion the insurrection of thousands of men; where

where, in the courſe of theſe inſurrections, more crimes and murders are committed; and there are more conflagrations and more pillaging, than would take place on the irruption of a band of ſavages; and where, as ſoon as the ſeaſon of the famine and the revolt is over, the adminiſtration abſtains from purſuing the criminal: ſuch a country certainly contains a greater number of inhabitants than it can ſubſiſt. Would not the Chineſe be the moſt abſurd of all people, if the accidental want of the neceſſaries of life proceeded from their neglect, either in cultivating their land, or in providing for their ſubſiſtence? But China, an immenſe and fertile country, ſo well cultivated, and ſo admirably governed, is not the leſs expoſed to this ſort of calamity. It muſt therefore contain ten times, twenty times as many inhabitants, as it does acres of land.

EVERY country, in which the attachment of parents to their offspring, a ſentiment ſo natural that it is common to man and brutes, is totally diſregarded, and in which the children are murdered, ſtifled, or expoſed, without incurring the reſentment of the public, has either too many inhabitants, or is occupied by a race of men different from any other on the ſurface of the globe. This, however, is what is practiſed in China; and to deny or to invalidate this fact, would be to throw the veil of uncertainty upon all the reſt.

BUT there is ſtill another phænomenon which more particularly confirms the opinion of the exceſſive population of China, and this is, the little

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progreſs the arts and ſciences have made there, in proportion to the extreme length of time they have been cultivated. The ſpirit of inquiry has ſtopped juſt at that point, where ceaſing to be uſeful, its reſearches begin to be mere objects of curioſity. There is more advantage to be derived from the invention of the moſt trifling practical art, than from the moſt ſublime diſcovery which ſhould be only the work of genius. The man who knows how to cut up a piece of gauze to the beſt advantage, would be in higher eſtimation than he who ſhould reſolve the moſt difficult problem in philoſophy. In this country that queſtion is more particularly repeated, which we hear too frequently among ourſelves: *What is the uſe of all this?* I aſk whether this ſpirit of tranquillity ſo contrary to the natural diſpoſition of man, who is always inclined to go beyond what he already knows, can be otherwiſe explained, than by a degree of population which prohibits idleneſs and the ſpirit of contemplation, and which keeps the nation in a continual ſtate of anxiety and attention to its wants. China is therefore the moſt populous region on the face of the globe.

THIS being granted, doth it not follow that it is alſo the moſt corrupt? Do we not learn from general experience, that the vices of ſociety are in proportion to the number of individuals which compoſe it? What anſwer could be made, if it were to be affirmed, that the morals of the Chineſe, throughout the whole extent of their empire, muſt neceſſarily be ſtill more depraved than in

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our largeſt cities, where a ſenſe of honour, at leaſt, to which the Chineſe is a ſtranger, adds a luſtre to virtue, and conceals the deformity of vice? BOOK I.

MAY it not be aſked, what is, and what muſt be the character of a people, among whom we ſee, not unfrequently, one province ruſhing upon another, and putting all the inhabitants to death, without mercy and with impunity? Can the manners of ſuch a people be mild? Is that nation to be eſteemed civilized or barbarous, in which the laws neither reſtrain nor puniſh the expoſition or the murder of new-born infants? Can theſe people be ſaid to cheriſh in an eminent degree the ſentiments of humanity, benevolence, and commiſeration? Or can we entertain a high opinion of their wiſdom, when, being incited by a concurrence of extraordinary circumſtances to found colonies, they have either not conceived, or have diſdained to put in practice an expedient ſo ſimple, and ſo effectual againſt the dreadful calamities to which they are repeatedly and continually expoſed?

So far, we cannot form any high opinion of the wiſdom of the Chineſe. Let us ſee whether the examination of the conſtitution of the empire, of the conduct of the ſovereign and his miniſters, of the knowledge of the learned, and of the manners of the people, will contribute to inſpire us with a more ſublime idea of it.

3. A SERIOUS writer, who is not among the crowd that admires the wiſdom of the Chineſe, ſays expreſsly, that *the cudgel is the ſovereign of China.*

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According to this ludicrous, and at the ſame time ſagacious idea, I imagine there would be ſome difficulty in perſuading us that a nation, in which man is treated as beaſts are in other places, can have the leaſt tincture of thoſe delicate and ſuſceptible manners that prevail in Europe, where an injurious word is expiated with blood; and where even a threatening geſture is revenged by death. The Chineſe muſt be of a very pacific and forbearing diſpoſition. So much the better, ſay our antagoniſts.

THE *ſovereign of China is however conſidered, obeyed, and reſpected as the father of his ſubjects.* In our turn we ſhall ſay, ſo much the worſe. This is indeed a certain proof of the humble ſubmiſſion of the children; but not of the goodneſs of the father. The beſt expedient to precipitate a nation into the moſt abject ſtate of ſlavery, from which it never can recover, is to conſecrate the title of deſpot, by adding that of father to it. Such monſters are rarely to be met with any where, as children who dare lift up their hands againſt their parents; but in defiance of the authority of the laws, which has ſet limits to paternal authority, we find, unfortunately, that parents who treat their children ill, are a ſpecies of monſters too commonly met with every where. The child never calls his father to account for his conduct; and the liberty of the ſubject, which is ever in danger, if the ſovereign be ſcreened from every kind of inquiry, by his infinitely reſpectable title of father, will become annihilated under a deſpot,

a deſpot, who ſhall not allow the leaſt inveſtigation of the principles of his adminiſtration.

We may perhaps miſtake, but the Chineſe appear to us to be bent under the yoke of a double tyranny; of paternal tyranny in a family, and of civil tyranny in the empire. From whence we might venture to conclude, that they are the moſt mild, the moſt inſinuating, the moſt reſpectful, the moſt timid, the moſt abject, and leaſt dangerous of all ſlaves; unleſs we ſuppoſe an exception to have been made in their favour, to the experience of all nations, and of all ages. What is the effect of paternal deſpotiſm amongſt us? The marks of outward reſpect, joined to a ſecret and ineffectual hatred againſt our fathers. What has been, and what is ſtill the effect of civil deſpotiſm in all nations? Meanneſs and the total extinction of every virtue. If things have taken another turn in China, let us be informed in what manner this miracle has been accompliſhed.

It is alleged, *the emperor is well aware that he preſides over a people who ſubmit to the laws no longer than while they promote their happineſs.* Is there any difference between the Chineſe and the European upon this point? *He is ſenſible, that if the ſpirit of tyranny ſhould ſeize him but for a moment, he would be in danger of being expelled from the throne.*—Do not ancient and modern hiſtories preſent us with inſtances of this juſt and terrible puniſhment? And what effect have they produced? Will it be ſaid, that a Chineſe is more impatient of oppreſſion than an Engliſhman or a Frenchman; or that China has never been, is

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not at preſent, and never will be hereafter governed by any but the moſt accompliſhed monarchs? What abſurdities are we not made to adopt by our blind veneration for antiquity and for diſtant regions! Mercy, firmneſs, application, knowledge, the love of the people and juſtice, are qualities which nature only beſtows, even ſeparately, upon a few diſtinguiſhed mortals; and there is not any one in whom they are not unfortunately more or leſs weakened by the dangerous poſſeſſion of the ſupreme power. It has therefore been reſerved to China alone, to eſcape this curſe which has begun with all ſocieties, and will laſt as long as they do.

CERTAINLY. *For there is a tribunal conſtantly ſubſiſting by the ſide of the throne, which keeps an exact and ſevere account of the emperor's actions.*—Does not the ſame kind of tribunal exiſt in all countries? Are monarchs unacquainted with it? or, do they fear or reſpect it? The difference between our tribunal and that of China, is, that ours, being compoſed of the whole body of the nation, cannot be corrupted; while that of the Chineſe conſiſts only of a ſmall number of learned men. Moſt ſingularly fortunate country, where the hiſtorian is neither puſillanimous, nor ſervile, nor open to ſeduction; and where the prince, who has the power to order the hand or head of his hiſtorian to be cut off, turns pale with fear, as ſoon as the writer takes up his pen! There have never been any except good kings, who have ſtood in awe of the judgment of their cotemporaries, and of the cenſure of poſterity.

ACCORD-

ACCORDINGLY, *the ſovereigns of China are virtuous, juſt, reſolute, and enlightened.*—What, all of them without exception? We may however reaſonably preſume, that the imperial palace of China does not differ from the palace of the ſovereign in all other countries. It is one ſingle dwelling in the midſt of the numberleſs habitations of the ſubjects: that is to ſay, that when genius or virtue happen to fall once from heaven directly upon the houſe of the ruler, they muſt neceſſarily fall one hundred thouſand times upon the ſide of it. But perhaps this law of nature does not hold in China as it does in Europe, where we ſhould eſteem ourſelves too fortunate, if, after a good king ſhall have ten bad ſucceſſors, there ſhould ariſe one to reſemble him.

BUT *the ſovereign authority in China is limited.*—Where is it not? Or, in what manner, and by whom is it limited in China? If the barrier that protects the people be not thick ſet with lances, ſwords and bayonets turned againſt the breaſt, or againſt the ſacred head of the paternal and deſpotic emperor, we ſhould be apprehenſive, though perhaps without reaſon, that this barrier in China would be nothing more than a large cobweb upon which the image of Juſtice and Liberty may have been painted, while, through its tranſparency, the quick-ſighted man may readily diſcern the hideous form of the deſpot. Have there been a great number of tyrants depoſed, impriſoned, ſentenced, and put to death there? Does the public ſcaffold continually ſtream with the blood of the ſovereigns? Why have not theſe events taken place?

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WHY? *Becauſe the Chineſe government, by a ſeries of revolutions, has been brought back to that ſtate, from which all other nations have receded, the patriarchal government.*—Let us obſerve, under favour of our antagoniſts, that the patriarchal government of an immenſe region, of a family conſiſting of two hundred millions of individuals, appears to be an idea almoſt as viſionary, as that of a republic extending over one half of the known world. The republican form of government implies a country, the limits of which are ſufficiently confined to admit of a ſpeedy and eaſy communication of the wiſhes of the people; as the patriarchal form of government ſuppoſes a ſmall wandering nation living under tents. The notion of a patriarchal government exiſting in China is a kind of ſpeculative illuſion, that would raiſe a ſmile in the emperor and his mandarins.

4. As *the mandarins are not attached to any rich or powerful families, the empire is free from commotions.*—Singular aſſertions; that the tranquillity of the empire is ſecured by the very circumſtance which ſeems moſt likely to diſturb it! Unleſs we ſuppoſe that Richelieu had miſtaken in his ſyſtem of politics, when he made it a rule, that great places were not to be given to men of low extraction or fortune, who are actuated by no other motive than their duty.

IT *is a fact that theſe ſtateſmen never excite any commotions.*—Perhaps it may be equally a fact, that they have no poor relations to take care of, no flatterers to load with favours, no favourites or miſtreſſes to enrich; and that they are equally ſuperior

ſuperior to ſeduction as to error. But a circumſtance which is inconteſtible, is, that theſe magiſtrates or chiefs of the law, carry about with them, without a ſenſe of ſhame, the marks of their degradation and ignominy. What an opinion can we have of a magiſtrate who bears the banner or enſign of his own diſgrace, without being humbled by it? What can we think of a people, whoſe reverence for ſuch a magiſtrate is not diminiſhed?

5. After the ſovereign and the mandarin, the learned man preſents himſelf to our examination. This learned man is a perſon educated in a doctrine which inſpires humanity; and who teaches it to others. A man who preaches the love of order, benevolence, and reſpect for the laws; and who diffuſes theſe ſentiments among the people, and points out their utility to them.—And have we not in our ſchools and our pulpits, amongſt our clergy, our magiſtrates, and philoſophers, men who may be reckoned not inferior to theſe literati either in knowledge or in ſound morals; who exerciſe the ſame functions, both in their diſcourſes and in their writings, in the capital, in the great cities, in the ſmaller towns, in the villages and in the hamlets? If the wiſdom of a nation were to be computed by the number of its teachers, no people would be ſuperior to us in that quality.

We have thus gone through the higher ranks of the empire; let us now deſcend to perſons of inferior ſtations, and take a curſory view of the popular manners.

6. What do we find in ſome works of morality tranſlated from the Chineſe? We find a ſet of infamous

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famous perſons exerciſing the functions of the police; the innocent man condemned, beaten, whipped, and thrown into priſon; the guilty pardoned upon payment of a pecuniary fine, or puniſhed, if the offended perſon happens to be the moſt powerful: in a word, all our public and domeſtic vices in a more hideous and diſguſting point of view.

7. But we cannot acquire more juſt ideas of the popular manners, than from the ſyſtem of education. In what mode is the ſtate of infancy managed in China? A child is obliged to remain ſitting for hours together, without the leaſt motion, in perfect ſilence, its arms folded over its breaſt, and in the attitude of the moſt profound thought and meditation. What effect can be expected from an habitual practice ſo contrary to nature? A man of common ſenſe would anſwer; Taciturnity, cunning, falſehood, hypocriſy, and all the train of vices that are peculiar to the cool, deliberate villain. He would think, that in China, that amiable frankneſs which delights us ſo much in children; that artleſs ingenuouſneſs which diſappears as they advance in age, and which engages univerſal confidence in thoſe few perſons who are ſo fortunate as to preſerve it; that all theſe charming qualities, in a word, were ſtifled there in the cradle.

8. The *code of Chineſe politeneſs is very long.*—A man of common ſenſe would infer from this, that politeneſs in China is not the ſimple and natural expreſſion of attentive complaiſance and general good-will; but merely a formal etiquette;

quette; and he would conſider the cordial appearance of thoſe dirty carmen, who kneel to each other, who embrace, who addreſs each other in the moſt affectionate terms, and who lend each other a mutual aſſiſtance, as a kind of mummery practiſed among a ceremonious people.

9. THERE *is a tribunal eſtabliſhed to take cognizance of offences againſt cuſtom.*—A man of common ſenſe would ſuſpect that juſtice would be more properly adminiſtered againſt theſe trifling offences, than in the civil tribunals againſt crimes of greater magnitude; and he would doubt much whether the powers of the ſoul could be exalted, or the ſprings of genius brought into action, under the ſhackles of rites, ceremonies, and formalities. He would imagine, that a people devoted to ceremony muſt inevitably be narrow-minded; and without ever having lived at Pekin or at Nankin, he would venture to aſſert, that there is no country in the world, in which there is leſs regard for virtue, or more attention to the appearances of it.

10. ALL perſons who have traded with the Chineſe are unanimous in declaring, that the utmoſt precautions are neceſſary to prevent being duped by them. They are not even aſhamed of their diſhoneſty.

A CERTAIN European, in his firſt voyage to this empire, bought ſome merchandiſe of a Chineſe, who cheated him both in the quality and the price. The goods had been carried on board of ſhip, and the bargain was completed. The European flattered himſelf, that he might poſſibly move the Chineſe by moderate repreſentations, and ſaid to him,

BOOK I. him, *'Chineſe, thou haſt ſold me bad goods.'—'That may be,'* replied the Chineſe, *'but you muſt 'pay.'—'Thou haſt broken the laws of juſtice, and 'abuſed my confidence.'—'That may be, but you 'muſt pay.'—'But thou art then no better than a 'rogue, or a thief.'—'That may be, but you muſt 'pay.'—'What opinion then muſt I carry back to my 'country, of thoſe Chineſe, ſo celebrated for wiſdom? 'I ſhall ſay, that you are a ſet of raſcals.'—'That 'may be, but you muſt pay.'* The European having added to theſe reproaches every injurious epithet ſuggeſted to him by his rage, without being able to get any thing more than theſe cool words, pronounced with deliberation; *'That may 'be, but you muſt pay—;'* at length pulled out his purſe, and laid down the money. The Chineſe then taking it up, ſaid to him: 'European, inſtead of ſtorming againſt me in the manner you 'have juſt been doing, would it not have been 'better for you to hold your tongue, and to do 'at firſt what you have been obliged to come to at 'laſt? For, after all, what have you got by it?'

THE Chineſe, therefore, have not even that remaining ſenſe of ſhame common to all profeſſed rogues, who ſtill will not ſubmit to be told that they are ſo. They are conſequently arrived at the laſt ſtage of depravity. Neither are we to imagine, that the inſtance here quoted is a ſingular one: theſe phlegmatic manners are the natural effect of that reſerve which is inſpired by the Chineſe mode of education.

NEITHER is it to be urged, that the Chineſe obſerve the rules of good faith among themſelves, while

while they think themſelves free from this obligation in their intercourſe with ſtrangers. This certainly is not, becauſe it cannot be. A man cannot be alternately honeſt and diſhoneſt. The man who has made it a practice to cheat foreigners, is too often expoſed to the temptation of cheating his fellow-citizens, to be able conſtantly to reſiſt it.

11. But it may be objected, that, according to theſe repreſentations, China is a barbarous country. I anſwer, it is ſtill worſe. The half civilized Chineſe appear to me as ſavages with pretenſions to civilization; they are a people completely corrupt, a condition more wretched than that of ſimple and natural barbariſm. The principle of virtue may unfold itſelf in a ſavage, by a ſeries of favourable circumſtances; but we know of no circumſtance, nor can we conceive any one, capable of rendering this important ſervice to a Chineſe, in whom this principle is not ſtifled, but totally obliterated. To the depravity and ignorance of theſe people, we may add their ridiculous vanity. Do they not ſay, that *they have two eyes, while we have but one, and that the reſt of the world is blind?* This prejudice, their exceſſive population, the indifference they have for their ſovereigns, which is probably the conſequence of it, the obſtinate attachment they have to their cuſtoms, the prohibition eſtabliſhed by their laws of going out of their country: all theſe circumſtances muſt neceſſarily fix the Chineſe in their preſent ſtate, during an indefinite courſe of ages. The man who thinks all knowledge centered in himſelf, or who

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who deſpiſes what he is ignorant of, will never learn any thing. How is it poſſible to teach wiſdom to him, who ſuppoſes himſelf the only wiſe man? or, to improve him, who eſteems himſelf arrived at perfection? We will venture to foretell, that the ſtate of the Chineſe will never be meliorated, either by war, peſtilence, famine, or even by tyranny, the moſt inſupportable of all theſe calamities, and for this very reaſon, more proper than all the others combined, to regenerate a nation by the violence of its oppreſſion.

12. We know not whether the other nations of the univerſe have been of much advantage to the Chineſe; but of what ſervice have they been to the reſt of the earth? It ſhould ſeem that their encomiaſts have affected to beſtow upon them a degree of coloſſal magnitude, while they have reduced us to the low ſtature of pigmies. We, on the contrary, have been attentive to ſhew them as they are: and till they can bring us from Pekin works of philoſophy ſuperior to thoſe of Deſcartes and Locke; mathematical treatiſes that may be compared to thoſe of Newton, Leibnitz, and their followers; pieces of poetry, eloquence, literature, and erudition not unworthy the attention of our great writers, and the depth, graces, taſte, and refinement of which they ſhall be forced to acknowledge; till they can produce from thence diſcourſes upon morality, politics, legiſlation, finances, or commerce, which may contain only one ſingle line of novelty to our men of genius; till they can exhibit vaſes, ſtatues, pictures, muſical inſtruments, or plans of architecture

ture fit for our artiſts to conſider; or philoſophical inſtruments and machines in which the inferiority of ours ſhall be very palpable: till theſe things, I ſay, can be brought to us from China, we ſhall retort upon the Chineſe his own ſaying, and we ſhall tell him, that he perhaps has but one eye, and that we have two: we ſhall carefully avoid inſulting other nations which we may have left behind us in the career of ſcience, and which are deſtined, perhaps, to get beyond us in ſome future time. Who is that Confucius of whom we hear ſo much talk, when compared to Sidney or Monteſquieu?

13. THE *Chineſe nation is the moſt laborious of any that is known.* We have no doubt of it; it is neceſſary they ſhould labour, and that their labour ſhould be renewed. Are they not condemned to this from the diſproportion between the produce of their ſoil, and the number of their inhabitants? We may, however, conclude from hence, that this population ſo much boaſted of has its limits, beyond which it becomes a calamity, which deprives man of his natural reſt, leads him on to deſperate actions, and deſtroys in his mind the principles of honour, delicacy, and morality, and even the ſentiment of humanity.

14. AND ſhall we ſtill perſiſt, after all that has been ſaid, in calling the Chineſe nation, *a people of ſages?* A people of ſages, among whom children are expoſed and put to death! where the moſt infamous of all debaucheries is common! where man is mutilated! where the government knows not how to prevent or puniſh the crimes

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occaſioned by a dearth! where the merchant cheats both the foreigner and the citizen! where the knowledge of the language is the ultimate point of ſcience! where, for a ſucceſſion of ages, a character and mode of writing has been adhered to, which is ſcarcely ſufficient for the common tranſactions of life! where the inſpectors of the manners are men deſtitute of honour and probity! where juſtice is beyond compariſon more corrupt than it is among the moſt degenerate people! where the works of the legiſlator, to whom all perſons pay homage, would not deſerve a reading, if the ignorance of the period in which he lived were not an apology for his writings! where, from the emperor to the meaneſt of his ſubjects, we ſee nothing more than a continued ſeries of rapacious beings devouring each other! in a word, where the ſovereign only ſuffers ſome of his immediate dependants to enrich themſelves, in order that he may acquire at once the ſpoils of the extortioner, and the title of avenger of his people.

15. If it be true, as we do not doubt it, that in China, every thing which will not admit of a diviſion, ſuch as the ſea, the rivers, the canals, navigation, fiſhing, and hunting, belongs in common to all; it muſt be acknowledged that this is a very reaſonable order of things. But is it poſſible that ſo numerous a people could patiently have abandoned their harveſt for the nouriſhment of animals? And if perſons of high rank had arrogated to themſelves the excluſive enjoyment of the woods and waters, would not ſuch an incroachment have been followed by a ſpeedy and

juſt

juſt revenge? Let us endeavour not to confound the laws of neceſſity with the inſtitutions of wiſdom.

16. HAVE not the Chineſe a ſet of monks more intriguing, more diſſolute, more idle, and in greater number than ours? Monks! leeches! in a country where the moſt continued labour ſcarce furniſhes the means of ſubſiſtence! *But, the government deſpiſes them.* Say rather, that it ſtands in awe of them, and that they are revered by the people.

17. IT might perhaps be an advantageous circumſtance, if in all countries, as we are aſſured it is in China, the adminiſtration were attached to no doctrine, to no ſect, nor to any particular mode of religious worſhip. This toleration, however, extends no farther than to the religious ſyſtems anciently ſettled in the empire. Chriſtianity has been proſcribed there, either becauſe the myſterious foundation of its doctrine has diſguſted men of weak underſtandings; or, becauſe the intrigues of thoſe who propagated it, have excited the alarms of a ſuſpicious government.

18. IN China, the merit of the ſon confers the rank of nobility on his father, with whom this prerogative ends. This is an inſtitution which we cannot but applaud; although it muſt be acknowledged that the ſyſtem of hereditary nobility has its advantages. Where ſhall we find the deſcendant of an illuſtrious family ſo abject, as not to feel the obligations impoſed upon him by a reſpectable name, or not to exert his efforts to make his conduct anſwerable to it? If we de-

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grade the nobleman who has made himſelf unworthy of his anceſtors, we ſhall be as wiſe upon this point as the Chineſe.

19. THERE is nothing we are ſo deſirous of as to commend. Accordingly, we confeſs there is a great deal of prudence in the mode which the Chineſe uſe of puniſhing a neglect in paying the taxes. Inſtead of fixing in the houſe of the debtor a ſet of ſatellites who ſeize upon his bed, his utenſils, his furniture, his cattle, or his perſon; inſtead of dragging him into priſon, or leaving him extended without bread upon ſtraw in his cottage, after it has been ſtript of every thing; it is certainly better to ſentence him to feed the poor. But the man who ſhould infer the wiſdom of China from this excellent cuſtom alone, would be as inaccurate a logician as he, who, from our cuſtoms upon the ſame occaſion, ſhould conclude that we were a barbarous people. The cenſure which the Chineſe deſerve, is ſoftened as much as poſſible; and that country is exalted in order to depreciate ours. We are not directly told that we are mad; but it is declared, without heſitation, that it is at China that wiſdom dwells: and immediately afterwards it is ſaid, that according to the laſt calculation, China contained about ſixty millions of men capable of bearing arms. Extravagant panegyriſts of China, do ye underſtand yourſelves? Have you an exact conception of ſuch a number as two hundred millions of individuals heaped one upon the other? Believe me, you muſt either ſubſtract one-half or three-fourths of this enormous population; or, if you

you perſiſt in giving credit to it, acknowledge, from the good ſenſe you poſſeſs, and from the reſult of the experience that is ſubmitted to your inſpection, that there is not, and that there cannot be, either policy or manners in China.

20. *The Chineſe extends his benevolence to the ſucceeding as well as to the preſent generation.* This is impoſſible. Children, fond of the marvellous, how long will ye be amuſed with ſuch ſtories? Every nation which is conſtantly obliged to ſtrive againſt want, cannot extend its thoughts beyond the preſent moment; and were it not for the honours publicly paid to anceſtors, ceremonies which muſt excite and keep up in the minds of men a faint idea of ſomething beyond the grave, we ought to admit it as a demonſtration, that if there be any part of the world where the ſenſe of immortality, and the reſpect for poſterity, are expreſſions deſtitute of meaning, it muſt be in China. We do not perceive that we carry every thing to the extreme, and that the only reſult of ſuch extravagant opinions is palpable contradiction; that an exceſſive population is inconſiſtent with good morals; and that we decorate a depraved multitude with the virtues which belong only to a few diſtinguiſhed perſons.

THE ſeveral arguments of the partiſans and of the calumniators of China are now ſubmitted to the judgment of our readers, to whom it is left to decide: for why ſhould we be ſo preſumptuous as to attempt to direct their judgment? If we might be allowed to hazard an opinion, we ſhould ſay, that although theſe two ſyſtems be ſupported

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by reſpectable teſtimonies, yet theſe authorities do not bear the marks of that great character that requires an implicit faith. Perhaps, in order to decide this matter, we muſt wait till ſome impartial and judicious men, and who are well verſed in the Chineſe writing and language, ſhall be permitted to make a long reſidence at the court of Pekin, to go through all the provinces, to live in the country villages, and to converſe freely with the Chineſe of all ranks.

WHATEVER may have been the ſtate of China when the Portugueſe landed there, as they had no other object in view than to draw riches from thence, and to propagate their religion, had they found the beſt kind of government eſtabliſhed in this country, they would not have profited by it. Thomas Perez, their ambaſſador, found the court of Pekin diſpoſed to favour his nation, the fame of which had ſpread itſelf throughout Aſia. It had already attracted the eſteem of the Chineſe, which the conduct of Ferdinand Andrada, who commanded the Portugueſe ſquadron, tended ſtill further to increaſe. He viſited all the coaſts of China, and traded with the natives. When he was on the point of departure, he iſſued a proclamation in the ports he had put into, that if any one had been injured by a Portugueſe, and would make it known, he ſhould receive ſatisfaction. The ports of China were now upon the point of being opened to them: Thomas Perez was juſt about concluding a treaty, when Simon Andrada, brother to Ferdinand, appeared on the coaſts with a freſh ſquadron. This commander treated

treated the Chineſe in the ſame manner as the Portugueſe had, for ſome time, treated all the people of Aſia. He built a fort without permiſſion, in the iſland of Taman, from whence he took opportunities of pillaging, and extorting money from all the ſhips bound from or to the ports of China. He carried off young girls from the coaſt; he ſeized upon the Chineſe, and made ſlaves of them; he gave himſelf up to the moſt licentious acts of piracy, and the moſt ſhameful diſſoluteneſs. The ſailors and ſoldiers under his command followed his example. The Chineſe, enraged at theſe outrages, fitted out a large fleet: the Portugueſe defended themſelves courageouſly, and eſcaped by making their way through the enemy's fleet. The emperor impriſoned Thomas Perez, who died in confinement, and the Portugueſe nation was baniſhed from China for ſome years. After this, the Chineſe relaxed, and gave permiſſion to the Portugueſe to trade at the port of Sancian, to which place they brought gold from Africa, ſpices from the Molucca iſlands, and from Ceylon elephants teeth, and ſome precious ſtones. In return they took ſilks of every kind, china, gums, medicinal herbs, and tea, which is ſince become ſo neceſſary a commodity to the northern nations of Europe.

THE Portugueſe contented themſelves with the huts and factories they had at Sancian, and the liberty granted to their trade by the Chineſe government, till an opportunity offered of eſtabliſhing themſelves upon a footing more ſolid, and

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leſs dependent upon the mandarins, who had the command of the coaſt.

A PIRATE, named Tchang-ſi-lao, whoſe ſucceſſes had made him powerful, had ſeized upon the iſland of Macao, from whence he blocked up the ports of China, and even proceeded ſo far as to lay ſiege to Canton. The neighbouring mandarins had recourſe to the Portugueſe, who had ſhips in the harbour of Sancian; they haſtened to the relief of Canton, raiſed the ſiege, and obtained a complete victory over the pirate, whom they purſued as far as Macao, where he ſlew himſelf.

THE emperor of China, informed of the ſervice the Portugueſe had rendered him on this occaſion, beſtowed Macao on them, as a mark of his gratitude. They received this grant with joy, and built a town which became very flouriſhing, and was advantageouſly ſituated for the trade they ſoon after entered into with Japan.

Arrival of the Portugueſe at Japan. Religion, manners, and government of theſe iſlands.

IN the year 1542, it happened that a Portugueſe veſſel was fortunately driven by a ſtorm on the coaſt of theſe celebrated iſlands. The crew were hoſpitably received, and obtained of the natives every thing they wanted to refreſh, and refit them for the ſea. When they arrived at Goa, they reported what they had ſeen, and informed the viceroy, that a new country, not leſs rich than populous, preſented itſelf to the zeal of the miſſionaries, and the induſtry of the merchants. Both miſſionaries and merchants embarked without delay for Japan.

THEY found a great empire, which is, perhaps, the moſt ancient of any in the world, except that of

of China; its annals are not without a great mixture of fable, but it appears beyond a doubt, that in the year 660, Sin-chu founded the monarchy, which has ever ſince been continued in the ſame family. Theſe ſovereigns called Dairos, were at the ſame time the kings and pontiffs of the nation; and by virtue of theſe united powers got the whole extent of the ſupreme authority into their hands. The perſon of the Dairos was ſacred, they were conſidered as the deſcendents and repreſentatives of the gods. The leaſt diſobedience to the moſt trifling of their laws, was looked upon as a crime ſcarcely to be expiated by the ſevereſt puniſhment; nor was this confined to the offender alone, his whole family was involved in the conſequences of his crime.

About the eleventh century theſe princes, who, no doubt, were more jealous of the pleaſing prerogatives of prieſthood, than of the troubleſome rights of royalty, divided the ſtate into ſeveral governments, and intruſted the adminiſtration of them to ſuch of the nobility as were diſtinguiſhed for their knowledge and wiſdom.

Thus the unlimited power of the Dairos ſuffered a conſiderable change. The affairs of the empire were left to fluctuate at all adventures. The reſtleſs and quick-ſighted ambition of their viceroys took advantage of this inattention to bring about a variety of revolutions. By degrees they began to depart from the allegiance they had ſworn to preſerve. They made war upon each other, and even upon their ſovereign. An abſolute independence was the conſequence of

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theſe commotions: ſuch was the ſtate of Japan, when it was diſcovered by the Portugueſe.

THE great iſlands of which this empire is compoſed, being ſituated in a tempeſtuous climate, ſurrounded by ſtorms, agitated by volcanos, and ſubject to thoſe great natural events which impreſs terror on the human mind, were inhabited by a people entirely addicted to ſuperſtition, but divided into ſeveral ſects. That of Xinto is the ancient eſtabliſhed religion of the country: it acknowledges a Supreme Being, and the immortality of the ſoul; and pays adoration to a multitude of gods, ſaints, or camis, that is to ſay, the ſouls of great men, who have been the ſupport and ornament of their country. It is by the authority of this religion that the Dairo, high-prieſt of the gods, from whom he claimed his deſcent, had long reigned over his ſubjects with that deſpotic ſway, with which ſuperſtition governs the mind. Being both emperor and high-prieſt, he had rendered religion, in ſome reſpects, uſeful to his people, which is not abſolutely impoſſible in countries where the ſacerdotal and civil power are united in the ſame perſon.

IT does not appear that the ſect of Xinto has had the madneſs, which of all others is the moſt dangerous to morality, to fix a criminal ſtigma on actions innocent in themſelves. Far from encouraging that gloomy fanaticiſm and dread of the gods, which is inſpired by almoſt all other religions, the Xinto ſect had applied itſelf to prevent, or at leaſt to moderate this diſorder of the imagination, by inſtituting feſtivals, which were cele-

celebrated three times in every month. They were dedicated to friendly viſits, feaſts, and rejoicings. The prieſts of Xinto taught, that the innocent pleaſures of mankind are agreeable to the deity, and that the beſt method of paying devotion to the camis is to imitate their virtues, and to enjoy in this world that happineſs they experience in another. In conſequence of this tenet, the Japaneſe, after having put up their prayers in the temples, which are always ſituated in the midſt of groves, reſorted to courtezans, who commonly inhabited places conſecrated to love and devotion, and compoſed a religious community under the direction of an order of monks, who received a ſhare of the profits ariſing from this pious compliance with the dictates of nature.

THE Budzoiſts are another ſect in Japan, of which Budzo was the founder. Their doctrine was nearly the ſame with that of the ſect of Xinto; over which they hoped to gain a ſuperiority by the ſeverity of their morals. Beſide the deity of the Xintoiſts, the Budzoiſts worſhipped an Amida, a kind of mediator between God and mankind; as well as other mediatorial divinities between men and Amida. The profeſſors of this religion flattered themſelves that they ſhould prevail over the religion of Xinto by the multitude of their precepts, the exceſs of their auſterity, their devotions and mortifications.

THE ſpirit of Budzoiſm is dreadful. It breathes nothing but penitence, exceſſive fear, and cruel ſeverity. Of all fanaticiſms it is the moſt terrible.

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The monks of this ſect oblige their diſciples to paſs one half of their lives in penance, to expiate imaginary ſins; and inflict upon them the greateſt part of that penance themſelves, with a tyranny and cruelty, of which one may conceive an idea from the inquiſitors in Spain; with this difference, that the Japaneſe fathers are themſelves the executioners of theſe voluntary victims to ſuperſtition; whereas the inquiſitors are only the judges of thoſe ſins and puniſhments, which they have themſelves deviſed and invented. The Budzoiſt prieſts keep the minds of their followers in a continual ſtate of torture, between remorſe and expiations. Their religion is ſo overloaded with precepts, that it is not poſſible to obſerve them. They repreſent their gods as always offended, and thirſting for vengeance.

It may be readily imagined, what effects ſo horrible a ſuperſtition muſt have on the character of the people, and to what degree of ferocity it hath brought them. The lights of a ſound morality, a little philoſophy, and a prudent ſyſtem of education might have remedied theſe laws, this government, and this religion; which conſpire to make mankind more ſavage in ſociety with his own ſpecies, than if he lived in the woods, and had no companions but the monſters that roam about the deſerts.

In China, they put into the hands of children books of inſtruction, which contain a detail of their duties, and teach them the advantages of virtue. The Japaneſe children are made to get by heart poems in which the actions of their fore-

forefathers are celebrated; a contempt of life is inculcated, and ſuicide is ſet up as the moſt heroic of all actions. Theſe ſongs and poems, which are ſaid to be full of energy and beauty, beget enthuſiaſm. The Chineſe education tends to regulate the ſoul, and keep it in order: the Japaneſe, to inflame and excite it to heroiſm. Theſe are guided through life by ſentiment; the Chineſe by reaſon and cuſtom.

THE Chineſe aim only at truth in their writings, and place their happineſs in a ſtate of tranquillity. The Japaneſe are eager in the purſuit of pleaſure, and would rather ſuffer, than be without feeling. In a word, the Chineſe ſeem to wiſh to counteract the violence and impetuoſity of the ſoul; the Japaneſe to keep it from ſinking into a ſtate of languor and inactivity.

IT is natural to imagine that people of this character muſt be fond of novelty. The Portugueſe were accordingly received with all poſſible demonſtrations of joy. All the ports were open to them. All the petty princes of the country invited them to their provinces: each contending who ſhould give them the moſt valuable advantages, grant them the moſt privileges, and ſhew them the greateſt civilities. Theſe merchants eſtabliſhed a prodigious trade. The Portugueſe carried thither the commodities of India which they brought from different markets; and Macao ſerved as a repoſitory for their European goods. Immenſe quantities of the productions of Europe and Aſia were conſumed by the Dairo, the uſurpers of his rights,

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rights, the nobles, and the whole nation. But what had they to give in return?

THE country of Japan is in general mountainous, ſtony, and by no means fertile. Its produce in rice, barley, and wheat, which are the only crops it admits of, is not ſufficient for the maintenance of its numerous inhabitants; who, notwithſtanding their activity, foreſight, and frugality, muſt periſh with famine, if the ſea did not ſupply them with great quantities of fiſh. The empire affords no productions proper for exportation; nor do the mechanic arts furniſh any article of trade except works in ſteel, which are the beſt we are acquainted with.

WERE it not for the advantages it derives from its mines of gold, ſilver, and copper, which are the richeſt in Aſia, and perhaps in the whole world, Japan could not ſupport its own expences. The Portugueſe every year carried off quantities of theſe metals, to the amount of fourteen or fifteen millions of livres *. They married alſo the richeſt of the Japaneſe heireſſes, and allied themſelves to the moſt powerful families.

Extent of the Portugueſe dominions in India.

WITH ſuch advantages, the avarice as well as the ambition of the Portugueſe might have been ſatisfied. They were maſters of the coaſt of Guinea, Arabia, Perſia, and the two peninſulas of India. They were poſſeſſed of the Moluccas, Ceylon, and the iſles of Sunda, while their ſettlement at Macao inſured to them the commerce of China and Japan.

* Upon an average, about 600,000l.

THROUGH-

THROUGHOUT this immenſe tract, the will of the Portugueſe was the ſupreme law. Earth and ſea acknowledged their ſovereignty. Their authority was ſo abſolute, that things and perſons were dependent upon them, and moved entirely by their directions. No nation or private perſon dared to make voyages, or carry on trade, without obtaining their permiſſion and paſſport. Thoſe who had this liberty granted them, were prohibited from trading in cinnamon, ginger, pepper, timber, iron, ſteel, lead, tin, and arms, of which the conquerors reſerved to themſelves the excluſive benefit. A number of valuable articles, by which ſo many nations have ſince enriched themſelves, and which then bore a higher price on account of their novelty, were entirely ingroſſed by the Portugueſe. In conſequence of this monopoly, the prices of the produce and manufactures both in Europe and Aſia were regulated at their diſcretion.

IN the midſt of ſo much glory, wealth, and conqueſt, the Portugueſe had not neglected that part of Africa, which lies between the Cape of Good Hope and the Red Sea, and has in all ages been famed for the richneſs of its productions. The poſſeſſion of this country was on many accounts an important object: the Arabians had been ſettled there for ſeveral ages, and their numbers were greatly increaſed. They had formed along the coaſt of Zanguebar ſeveral ſmall independent ſovereignties, ſome of which made a conſiderable figure, and almoſt all of them were in good condition. The flouriſhing ſtate of theſe ſettle-

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ſettlements was owen to the mines of gold and ſilver, found within their reſpective territories, the produce of which enabled them to purchaſe the commodities of India. To poſſeſs themſelves of this treaſure, and to deprive their competitors of it, was looked upon by the Portugueſe as an indiſpenſable duty. Agreeable to this principle, theſe Arabian merchants were attacked, and without much difficulty ſubdued, about the year 1508. Upon their ruin was eſtabliſhed an empire, extending from Sofala as far as Melinda, of which the iſland of Moſambique was made the centre. This iſland is ſeparated from the continent only by a narrow channel, and is no more than two leagues in circumference. Its port, which is excellent, and wants no advantage but that of a purer air, was fixed upon as a place for the veſſels of the conqueror to put in at, and as a ſtaple for all their merchandiſe. Here they uſed to wait for thoſe ſettled winds, which at certain times of the year blow without intermiſſion from the African to the Indian coaſts, and which at other times blow in an oppoſite direction from the coaſts of India to thoſe of Africa.

Degeneracy of the Portugueſe in India.

THESE ſucceſſes properly improved might have formed a power ſo conſiderable, that it could not have been ſhaken; but the vices and folly of ſome of their chiefs, the abuſe of riches and of power, the wantonneſs of victory, the diſtance of their own country, changed the character of the Portugueſe. Religious zeal, which had added ſo much force and activity to their courage, now produced in them nothing but ferocity. They made no ſcruple

ſcruple of pillaging, cheating, and enſlaving the idolaters. They ſuppoſed that the Pope, in beſtowing the kingdoms of Aſia upon the Portugueſe monarchs, had not with-holden the property of individuals from their ſubjects. Being abſolute maſters of the eaſtern ſeas, they extorted a tribute from the ſhips of every country; they ravaged the coaſts, inſulted the princes, and became in a ſhort time the terror and ſcourge of all nations.

THE king of Tidor was carried off from his own palace, and murdered, with his children, whom he had intruſted to the care of the Portugueſe.

AT Ceylon, the people were not ſuffered to cultivate the earth, except for their new maſters, who treated them with the greateſt barbarity.

AT Goa they had eſtabliſhed the inquiſition, and whoever was rich became a prey to the miniſters of that infamous tribunal.

FARIA, who was ſent out againſt the pirates from Malacca, China, and other parts, made a deſcent on the iſland of Calampui, and plundered the ſepulchres of the Chineſe emperors.

SOUZA cauſed all the pagodas on the Malabar coaſt to be deſtroyed, and his people inhumanly maſſacred the wretched Indians, who went to weep over the ruins of their temples.

CORREA terminated an obſtinate war with the king of Pegu, and both parties were to ſwear on the books of their ſeveral religions to obſerve the treaty. Correa ſwore on a collection of ſongs, and thought

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thought by this vile ſtratagem to elude his engagement.

NUNO D'ACUNHA reſolved to make himſelf maſter of the iſland of Daman on the coaſt of Cambaya; the inhabitants offered to ſurrender it to him, if he would permit them to carry off their treaſures. This requeſt was refuſed, and Nuno put them all to the ſword.

DIEGO DE SILVEIRA was cruizing in the Red Sea. A veſſel richly laden ſaluted him. The captain came on board and gave him a letter from a Portugueſe general, which was to be his paſſport. The letter contained only theſe words: *I deſire the captains of ſhips belonging to the king of Portugal to ſeize upon this Mooriſh veſſel, as a lawful prize.*

IN a ſhort time the Portugueſe preſerved no more humanity or good faith with each other than with the natives. Almoſt all the ſtates, where they had the command, were divided into factions.

A MIXTURE of avarice, debauchery, cruelty, and devotion, prevailed every where in their manners. They had moſt of them ſeven or eight concubines, whom they kept to work with the utmoſt rigour, and forced from them the money they earned by their labour. Such treatment of women was very repugnant to the ſpirit of chivalry.

THE chiefs and principal officers admitted to their table a multitude of thoſe ſinging and dancing women, with which India abounds. Effemi-

nacy introduced itſelf into their houſes and armies. The officers marched to meet the enemy in palanquins. That brilliant courage, which had ſubdued ſo many nations, exiſted no longer among them. The Portugueſe were with difficulty brought to fight, except where there was a proſpect of plunder. In a ſhort time the king of Portugal no longer received the produce of the tribute, which was paid him by more than one hundred and fifty eaſtern princes. This money was loſt in its way from them to him. Such corruption prevailed in the finances, that the tributes of ſovereigns, the revenues of provinces, which ought to have been immenſe, the taxes levied in gold, ſilver, and ſpices, on the inhabitants of the continent and iſlands, were not ſufficient to keep up a few citadels, and to fit out the ſhipping that was neceſſary for the protection of trade.

It would be a melancholy circumſtance to fix our attention upon the decline of a nation, that ſhould have ſignalized itſelf by exploits uſeful to mankind, that ſhould have enlightened the world, or increaſed its own ſplendour and happineſs, without being the ſcourge of its neighbours or of diſtant regions. But we ſhould conſider there is a great difference between the hero who ſpills his blood in the defence of his country, and a ſet of intrepid robbers, who expoſe themſelves to death in a foreign ſoil, or who put its innocent and wretched inhabitants to the ſword. *Serve or die*, the Portugueſe uſed inſolently to ſay to every people they met in their rapid progreſs marked with blood. It is a grate-

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ful thing to behold the downfal of ſuch tyranny; and a conſolation to expect the puniſhment of thoſe treacheries, murders, and cruelties, with which it has been preceded or followed. Far from regretting the overthrow of theſe ſavage conquerors, I ſhould rather grieve at the wiſe policy of Juan de Caſtro, becauſe it ſeemed to promiſe a revival of that ſpirit, which is called by the vulgar the heroiſm of Portugal; and which I myſelf, perhaps, led away by habit, have not treated with all the indignation I felt at it. If I have been guilty of this neglect, I aſk pardon for it of God, and of man.

BARBAROUS Europeans! the brilliancy of your enterprizes has not impoſed upon me, nor has your ſucceſs prevented me from ſeeing the injuſtice of them. I have often embarked with you in imagination on board the ſhips that were to convey you to theſe diſtant regions; but when my fancy has landed me along with you, and that I have been witneſs of your enormities, I have withdrawn myſelf from you; I have thrown myſelf among your enemies; I have taken up arms againſt you, and have imbrued my hands in your blood. I here make a ſolemn proteſtation of this; and if I have ever ceaſed, for one moment, conſidering you as a multitude of famiſhed and cruel vultures, with as little principles of morality and conſcience as are to be found among theſe rapacious birds of prey; may this work, and may my memory, if I may be allowed to hope that I ſhall leave one behind me, ſink into the loweſt contempt, and become an object of execration!

Brilliant adminiſtration of Caſtro.

CASTRO was a man of much knowledge, conſidering the age he lived in. He poſſeſſed a noble and elevated ſoul; and the ſtudy of the ancients had cheriſhed in him that love of glory and of his country, which was ſo common among the Greeks and Romans.

IN the beginning of his wiſe and glorious adminiſtration, Cojé-Sophar, miniſter of Mahmoud king of Cambaya, had inſpired his maſter with a deſign of attacking the Portugueſe. This man, whoſe father is ſaid to have been an Italian, and his mother a Greek, had raiſed himſelf from the condition of a ſlave to the conduct of the ſtate, and the command of armies. He had embraced Mohammediſm, and though he had really no religion, he knew how to avail himſelf of the averſion the people had conceived againſt the Portugueſe on account of the contempt they ſhewed for the religions of the country. He engaged in his ſervice experienced officers, veteran ſoldiers, able engineers, and even founders, whom he procured from Conſtantinople. His preparations ſeemed intended againſt the Mogul or the Patans, and when the Portugueſe leaſt expected it, he attacked and made himſelf maſter of Diu, and laid ſiege to the citadel.

THIS place, which is ſituated on a little iſland upon the coaſt of Guzarat, had always been conſidered as the key of India in thoſe times, when navigators never launched beyond the coaſt; and Surat was the great ſtaple of the eaſt. From the arrival of Gama, it had been conſtantly an object of ambition to the Portugueſe, into whoſe hands

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it fell at length in the time of d'Acunha. Mal carenhas, who was governor of it at the juncture we are ſpeaking of, and who ſhould have had nine hundred men, had only three: the reſt of his garriſon, according to an abuſe very common in thoſe days, were employed in trade at the different towns upon the coaſt. He muſt have ſurrendered, if he had not received immediate aſſiſtance. Caſtro ſent him a reinforcement under the command of his ſon, who was killed in the attack. Cojé-Sophar ſhared the ſame fate; but his death did not ſlacken the operations of the ſiege.

CASTRO inſtituted funeral games in honour of thoſe who had fallen in defence of their country. He congratulated their parents in the name of the government, and received congratulations himſelf on the death of his eldeſt ſon. His ſecond preſided at the funeral games, and marched immediately after for Diu, to deſerve, as it were, the honours he had juſt been paying to his brother. The garriſon repulſed the enemy in every attack, and ſignalized themſelves every day by extraordinary actions. In the eyes of the Indians the Portugueſe were more than men. *Happily*, ſaid they, *providence has decreed that there ſhould be but as few of them as there are of tygers and lions, leſt they ſhould exterminate the human ſpecies.*

CASTRO himſelf headed a larger reinforcement than he had ſent. He threw himſelf into the citadel with proviſions, and above four thouſand men. It was debated, whether they ſhould give battle. The reaſons on both ſides were diſcuſſed. Garcias de Sâ, an old officer, commanded ſilence;

ſilence; *Ye have all ſpoken*, ſaid he, *now let us fight*. Caſtro was of the ſame opinion. The Portugueſe marched out to the enemy's intrenchments, and gained a ſignal victory. After having raiſed the ſiege, it was neceſſary to repair the citadel. They were in want of money, and Caſtro borrowed it on his own credit.

On his return to Goa, he wiſhed to give his army the honours of a triumph after the manner of the antients. He thought that ſuch honours would ſerve to revive the warlike ſpirit of the Portugueſe, and that the pomp of the ceremony might have a great effect on the imagination of the people. At his entry, the gates of the city were ornamented with triumphal arches; the ſtreets were lined with tapeſtry; the women appeared at the windows in magnificent habits, and ſcattered flowers and perfumes upon the conquerors; while the people danced to the ſound of muſical inſtruments. The royal ſtandard was carried before the victorious ſoldiers, who marched in order. The viceroy, crowned with branches of palm, rode on a ſuperb car: the generals of the enemy followed it, and after them the ſoldiers that had been made priſoners. The colours that had been taken from them, were carried in proceſſion reverſed and dragging on the ground, and were followed by their artillery and baggage. Repreſentations of the citadel they had delivered, and of the battle they had gained, enhanced the ſplendour of the ſpectacle. Verſes, ſongs, orations, firing of cannon, all concurred to render the feſtival magnificent, agreeable, and ſtriking.

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Accounts of this triumph were brought to Europe. Men who formed pretenſions to wit condemned it as ridiculous, and bigots called it profane. The queen of Portugal ſaid upon the occaſion, *That Caſtro had conquered like a chriſtian, and triumphed like a pagan hero.*

The Portugueſe grow effeminate, and are no longer formidable.

The vigour of the Portugueſe, which Caſtro had re-animated, did not long continue. Corruption made daily advances among the citizens of every claſs. One of the viceroys thought of ſetting up boxes in the principal towns, in which any perſon might put memorials and articles of intelligence. Such a method might be very uſeful, and tend to a reformation of abuſes in an enlightened country, where the morals of the inhabitants were not totally ſpoiled, but among a ſuperſtitious and corrupt people, it was not likely to be of any ſervice.

The original conquerors of India were none of them now in being, and their country, exhauſted by too many enterpriſes and colonies, was not in a capacity to replace them. The defenders of the Portugueſe ſettlements were born in Aſia; their opulence, the ſoftneſs of the climate, the manner of living, and perhaps the nature of the food, had taken from them much of the intrepidity of their forefathers. At the ſame time that they gave themſelves up to all thoſe exceſſes which make men hated, they had not courage enough left to inſpire the people with terror. They were monſters; poiſon, fire, aſſaſſination, every ſort of crime was become familiar to them; nor were they private perſons only who were guilty of ſuch practices;

practices; men in office ſet them the example! They maſſacred the natives; they deſtroyed one another. The governor, who was juſt arrived, loaded his predeceſſor with irons, that he might deprive him of his wealth. The diſtance of the ſcene, falſe witneſſes, and large bribes, ſecured every crime from puniſhment.

THE iſland of Amboyna was the firſt to avenge itſelf. A Portugueſe had at a public feſtival ſeized upon a very beautiful woman, and, regardleſs of all decency, had proceeded to the greateſt of outrages. One of the iſlanders, named Genulio, armed his fellow-citizens; after which he called together the Portugueſe, and addreſſed them in the following manner: "To revenge affronts of "ſo cruel a nature as thoſe we have received from "you, would require actions, not words: yet we "will ſpeak to you. You preach to us a deity, "who delights, you ſay, in generous actions; but "theft, murder, obſcenity, and drunkenneſs, are "your common practice; your hearts are in-"flamed with every vice. Our manners can "never agree with yours: nature foreſaw this, "when ſhe ſeparated us by immenſe ſeas, and ye "have overleaped her barriers. This audacity, "of which ye are not aſhamed to boaſt, is a proof "of the corruption of your hearts. Take my "advice; leave to their repoſe theſe nations that "reſemble you ſo little; go, fix your habitations "among thoſe who are as brutal as yourſelves; "an intercourſe with you would be more fatal to "us, than all the evils which it is in the power of "your God to inflict upon us. We renounce

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"your alliance for ever: your arms are ſuperior "to ours; but we are more juſt than you, and we "do not fear you. The Itons are from this day "your enemies; fly from their country, and be- "ware how you approach it again."

THIS harangue, which thirty years before would have brought on the deſtruction of Amboyna, was liſtened to with a degree of patience that fully demonſtrated what change had taken place among the Portugueſe.

A general conſpiracy is formed againſt the Portugueſe. The manner in which Ataida diſconcerts it.

EQUALLY deteſted in every quarter, they ſaw a confederacy forming to expel them from the Eaſt. All the great powers of India entered into the league, and for two or three years carried on their preparations in ſecret. The court of Liſbon was informed of them; and the reigning king Sebaſtian, who, if it had not been for his ſuperſtition, would have been a great prince, diſpatched Ataida, and all the Portugueſe who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the wars of Europe, to India.

THE general opinion on their arrival was to abandon the diſtant ſettlements, and aſſemble their forces on the Malabar coaſt, and in the neighbourhood of Goa. Although Ataida was of opinion that too great a number of ſettlements had been formed, he was not pleaſed with the appearance of ſacrificing them. *Comrades*, ſaid he, *I mean to preſerve all, and ſo long as I live, the enemy ſhall not gain an inch of ground.* Immediately upon this he ſent ſuccours to all the places that were in danger, and made the neceſſary diſpoſitions for defending Goa.

THE

THE Zamorin attacked Manjalor, Cochin, and Cananor. The king of Cambaya attacked Chaul, Daman, and Baichaim. The king of Achem laid ſiege to Malacca. The king of Ternate made war upon the Portugueſe in the Moluccas. Agalachem, a tributary to the Mogul, impriſoned the Portugueſe merchants at Surat. The queen of Garcopa endeavoured to drive them out of Onor.

ATAIDA, in the midſt of the care and trouble attending the ſiege of Goa, ſent five ſhips to Surat, which obliged Agalachem to ſet the Portugueſe, whom he had ſeized, at liberty. Thirteen ſhips were diſpatched to Malacca; upon which the king of Achem and his allies abandoned the ſiege. Ataida ordered even thoſe veſſels to ſet ſail, which were employed every year to carry tribute and merchandiſe to Liſbon. It was repreſented to him, that inſtead of depriving himſelf of the aſſiſtance of men who were to go on board this fleet, he ſhould preſerve them for the defence of India. *We ſhall be enough without them*, ſaid he; *the ſtate is in diſtreſs, and its expectations muſt not be diſappointed.* This reply ſurpriſed his opponents, and the fleet ſailed. At the time when the place was moſt vigorouſly preſſed by Idalcan, Ataida ſent troops to the ſuccour of Cochin, and ſhips to Ceylon. The archbiſhop, whoſe authority was unlimited, interpoſed to prevent it. *Sir*, replied Ataida, *you underſtand nothing of theſe affairs; content yourſelf with recommending them to the bleſſing of God.* The Portugueſe, who came from Europe, exhibited prodigies of valour during this ſiege. It was oftentimes with difficulty that Ataida could

reſtrain

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restrain them from throwing away their lives. Many of them would sally out in the night, contrary to his orders, to attack the besiegers in their lines.

The viceroy did not depend so entirely on the force of his arms, as to reject the assistance of policy. He was informed, that Idalcan was governed by one of his mistresses, and that she was in the camp with him. Women who devote themselves to the pleasures of princes are generally slaves to ambition, and unacquainted with those virtues which love inspires. The mistress of Idalcan suffered herself to be corrupted, and sold to Ataida her lover's secrets. Idalcan was aware of the treason, but could not discover the traitor. At last, after ten months spent in toil and action, his tents destroyed, his troops diminished, his elephants killed, and his cavalry unable to serve; this prince, overcome by the genius of Ataida, raised the siege, and retreated in shame and despair.

The brave Ataida demeaned his character in corrupting the mistress of Idalcan, while she acted consistently with her's in betraying her lover. How is it possible that a woman, who has publicly sold her honour to her sovereign, should hesitate to sell the honour of her sovereign, to him who knows how to set a proper price upon her perfidy? If a woman were capable of inspiring her king with great ideas, she would have a soul sufficiently exalted to disdain to become his courtesan; and whenever she condescends to accept of this humiliating title, or when she may perhaps become so abject

abject as to think herſelf honoured by it, what has the nation to expect from her? Nothing but the corruption of manners in her lover, and in his favourites; the depredation of the treaſury; the elevation of the moſt inadequate and moſt infamous men to the moſt important offices; circumſtances which are the diſgrace of a long reign. Monarchs! a man of auſtere morals would have prohibited every unlawful connection; but if the laborious duties ye are expoſed to, call for our indulgence, let your vices at leaſt be concealed by great virtues. Have a miſtreſs, if ye muſt have one; but let her be a ſtranger to public affairs, and let her at leaſt be confined to the temporary direction of your amuſements.

ATAIDA marched without delay to the aſſiſtance of Chaul, which was beſieged by Nizam-al-Muluck, king of Cambaya, at the head of more than a hundred thouſand men. The defence of Chaul had been conducted with as much intrepidity as that of Goa. It was followed by a great victory, which Ataida, with a handful of men, obtained over a numerous army, diſciplined by a long ſiege.

ATAIDA, after this, marched againſt the Zamorin, defeated and obliged him to ſign a treaty, by which he engaged never to maintain any ſhips of war.

SUCH was the diſaſtrous end of a conſpiracy planned with a great deal of harmony, art and ſecrecy, againſt a ſet of inſolent and oppreſſive uſurpers. The defeat of ſuch a number of people excites our regret, and it were to be wiſhed that the virtues of Ataida had been employed in a better

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better cauſe. To conciliate the admiration with which the conduct of this hero inſpires us, with the liberty of India, we could have wiſhed that he had met with a glorious death.

THE Portugueſe became throughout the Eaſt what they were, under the immediate conduct of Ataida. A ſingle ſhip, commanded by Lopez Caraſco, fought for three days ſucceſſively againſt the whole fleet of the king of Achem. In the middle of the engagement word was brought to Lopez's ſon that his father was killed: *We have one brave man the leſs*, ſaid he; *we muſt conquer, or deſerve to die like him.* Saying this, he took the command of the ſhip, and forcing his way in triumph through the enemy's fleet, anchored before Malacca.

NOR was courage the only virtue that revived among the Portugueſe at this period; ſo powerful is the aſcendant of a great man, even over the moſt corrupt nations. Thomas de Sowza had got as a ſlave a beautiful girl, who had not long before been promiſed to a young man that was in love with her. Hearing of the misfortune of his miſtreſs, he flew to throw himſelf at her feet, and partake of her chains. Sowza was preſent at their interview; they embraced, and melted into tears. *I give you your liberty*, ſaid the Portugueſe general; *go and live happy elſewhere.*

THE management of the public money was likewiſe reformed by Ataida, who reſtrained thoſe abuſes which are moſt injurious to ſtates, and moſt difficult to be reſtrained. But this good order, this returning heroiſm, this glorious moment, did not ſurvive his adminiſtration.

GOVERN-

State into which Portugal falls, when subdued by Spain.

GOVERNMENT is always a very complicated machine, which has its beginning, its progreſs, and its period of perfection, when it is well planned; on the other hand, when it is defective in its ſource, it has its beginning, its progreſs, and its period of extreme corruption. In either of theſe caſes, it comprehends ſuch an infinite number of objects, both within and without, that when its diſſolution happens, either from the inability of the chief, or the violence of the ſubjects, it unavoidably brings on the moſt terrible conſequences. If the impatience of the ſubjects ſhould break the yoke, the weight of which they have been no longer able to bear, a nation advances more or leſs rapidly towards anarchy, wading through ſtreams of blood. If it ſhould arrive by imperceptible degrees at this fatal period, through the indolence or weakneſs of the ſovereign, unable to hold the reins of empire; the effuſion of blood is ſpared, but the nation falls into a ſtate of annihilation. It is nothing more than a carcaſe, all the parts of which fall into putrefaction, are ſeparated and transformed into a maſs of worms, which periſh themſelves after they have devoured every thing. In the mean while the neighbouring nations are hovering round it, as we ſee birds of prey hovering about a carcaſe in the fields. They eaſily get poſſeſſion of a defenceleſs country; and the people then paſs into a worſe ſtate, than when they firſt emerged from barbariſm. The laws of the conqueror claſh with thoſe of the people conquered; their reſpective cuſtoms, manners, and religion, are all in oppoſition to each other; and their

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their language is confounded with a foreign idiom. Hence ariſes a chaos, the end of which it is difficult to foretel; a chaos, which cannot be diſſipated, till after ſeveral centuries are elapſed, while the traces it leaves behind are never to be entirely effaced by a ſucceſſion of the moſt fortunate events.

SUCH is the picture of Portugal at the death of Sebaſtian, till the kingdom was gradually reduced under the dominion of Philip the Second. From this æra, the Portugueſe in India ceaſed to conſider themſelves as of the ſame country. Some made themſelves independent, others turned pirates, and paid no reſpect to any flag. Many entered into the ſervice of the princes of the country, and theſe almoſt all became miniſters or generals, ſo great were the advantages this nation ſtill maintained over thoſe of India. No Portugueſe purſued any other object than the advancement of his own intereſt: there was no zeal, no union for the common good. Their poſſeſſions in India were divided into three governments, which gave no aſſiſtance to each other, and even claſhed in their projects and intereſts. Neither diſcipline, ſubordination, nor the love of glory, animated either the ſoldiers or the officers. Men of war no longer ventured out of the ports, or whenever they appeared, were badly equipped. Manners became more and more depraved. Not one of their commanders had power enough to reſtrain the torrent of vice; and the majority of theſe commanders were themſelves corrupted. The Portugueſe at length loſt all their former greatneſs, when

when a free and enlightened nation, actuated with a proper ſpirit of toleration, appeared in India, and contended with them for the empire of that country.

Detail of the other cauſes that brought on the ruin of the Portugueſe in India.

IT may be affirmed, that at the time when Portugal firſt made its diſcoveries, the world was very little acquainted with the political principles of trade, the real power of different ſtates, the advantages of conqueſt, the manner of eſtabliſhing and preſerving colonies, and the benefits the mother country might derive from them.

IT was a wiſe project to endeavour to find a paſſage by Africa to go to India, and to bring merchandiſe from thence. The benefits which the Venetians derived by leſs direct roads, had juſtly excited the emulation of the Portugueſe; but it was proper there ſhould be ſome limits to ſo laudable an ambition.

THIS ſmall nation becoming on a ſudden miſtreſs of the richeſt and moſt extenſive commerce of the globe, ſoon conſiſted of nothing elſe but merchants, factors, and ſailors, who were deſtroyed by long voyages. Thus the Portugueſe loſt the foundation of all real power, which conſiſts in agriculture, natural induſtry, and population; and there was conſequently no proportion between their commerce and the means of keeping it up.

THEY carried theſe deſtructive meaſures ſtill further; and, animated with the rage of conqueſt, extended themſelves over a vaſt tract of land, which no European nation would have been able to preſerve, without impairing its own ſtrength.

THUS

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THUS this ſmall country, which of itſelf was not very populous, conſtantly exhauſted itſelf in ſoldiers, ſailors, and inhabitants, ſent to ſupply the colonies.

THE ſpirit of religious intoleration that prevailed among them, would not allow them to admit into the claſs of their own citizens the people of the Eaſt and of Africa, and they were therefore obliged to be perpetually at war with their new ſubjects.

As the government ſoon changed its ſchemes of trade into projects of conqueſt; the nation, which had never been guided by the true commercial ſpirit, ſoon aſſumed that of rapine and plunder.

TIME-PIECES, fire-arms, fine cloths, and other articles, which have been ſince carried into India, not being then brought to that degree of perfection they have lately acquired, the Portugueſe could not carry any thing there but money. They ſoon grew tired of this, and took away from the Indians by force what they had before obtained by purchaſe.

THEN was to be ſeen throughout the kingdom of Portugal the utmoſt profuſion of riches, joined to the moſt extreme poverty. The only opulent perſons were thoſe who had had ſome employment in India; while the huſbandman, who found no one to aſſiſt him in his toil, and the artiſts, who were unable to procure workmen, being ſoon compelled to forego their ſeveral occupations, were reduced to the loweſt ſtate of miſery.

ALL theſe misfortunes had been foreſeen. When the diſcovery of India engaged the attention of Portu-

Portugal, that court flattered itſelf that the mere appearance of its ſhips in that mild climate would inſure the poſſeſſion of it; that the trade of theſe countries would prove as inexhauſtible a ſource of riches to the nation, as it had been to thoſe people who had hitherto been maſters of it; and that, by the treaſure ariſing from it, the ſtate, notwithſtanding its ſmall extent of territory, would become equal in ſtrength and ſplendour to the moſt formidable powers. There were ſome perſons, however, who were not miſled by theſe deluſive hopes. The moſt penetrating and moderate of the miniſters ventured to affirm, that the conſequence of running in ſearch of rich minerals and glittering merchandiſe, would be an inattention to objects of real advantage, agriculture, and manufactures; that wars, ſhipwrecks, epidemical diſeaſes, and other accidents, would weaken the whole empire beyond recovery; that the ſtate, thus carried out from its centre by the impulſe of an extravagant ambition, would either by force or art attract the ſubjects to the moſt diſtant parts of Aſia; that even if the enterprize ſucceeded, it would raiſe a powerful confederacy, which it would be impoſſible for the crown of Portugal to defeat. Attempts were in vain made, ſome time after this, to convince theſe diſcerning men of their error, by ſhewing them that the Indians were ſubdued, the Moors repulſed, and the Turks defeated; and by exhibiting the tide of wealth that flowed into Portugal. Their opinions were too well-grounded in experience to be ſhaken by the report of theſe flattering ſucceſſes. They ſtill inſiſted that

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a few years would discover the folly of pushing these pursuits to extremity, and that they must inevitably lead to a corruption of morals, and end in ravages and universal confusion. Time, the great arbiter of political matters, soon confirmed their predictions.

Present state of the Portuguese in India.

Of all the conquests which the Portuguese had made in the seas of Asia, they possess none at present but Macao, part of the island of Timor, Daman, Diu, and Goa. The connections which these wretched establishments kept up with each other, and those which they had with the rest of India and with Portugal, were not maintained with any kind of spirit. They have been still more contracted, since the establishment at Goa of an exclusive company for China and the Mosambique.

At present, Macáo sends to Timor, to Siam, and to Cochinchina, some few small vessels of little value. It sends five or six to Goa laden with merchandise that has been refused at Canton; and the greatest part of which belongs to Chinese merchants. These last ships are laden in return with sanders wood, Indian saffron, ginger, pepper, linen, and indeed with all the materials that Goa has been able to collect on the coast of Malabar, or at Surat, with a sixty gun ship, two frigates, and six sloops, fitted out as sloops of war.

It follows from this state of inactivity, that the colony cannot send annually to Europe more than three or four cargoes, the value of which does not exceed 3,175,000 livres *, even since the year

* 132,291 l. 13 s. 4 d.

1752,

1752, when this commerce was freed from the reſtraints of monopoly, except in the articles of ſugar, ſnuff, pepper, ſaltpetre, pearls, ſanders, and aloes wood, which the crown continues to buy up, and to ſell excluſively. The veſſels laden with theſe materials, uſed formerly to put in at Braſil, or in Africa, where they ſold part of their merchandiſe: but for ſome time paſt they have been obliged to return directly to the mother country.

SUCH is the declining ſtate into which the Portugueſe affairs in India are fallen, from that pinnacle of glory to which they had been raiſed by the bold adventurers who diſcovered, and the intrepid heroes who conquered, that country. The ſcene of their glory and opulence is become that of their ruin and diſgrace. Formerly, a deſpotic and cruel viceroy, and ſince the year 1774 a governor-general, with the ſame powers and diſpoſition; a turbulent and undiſciplined militia, conſiſting of ſix thouſand two hundred and ſeventy ſoldiers, blacks and others; magiſtrates of open and avowed venality; an unjuſt and rapacious adminiſtration: all theſe ſeveral kinds of oppreſſion, which would be ſufficient to annihilate the moſt virtuous of all people, cannot poſſibly regenerate an idle, degraded, and corrupt nation. Let the court of Liſbon at length open its eyes; and in a little time its flag, which has been ſo long forgotten, will reſume ſome ſhare of conſideration. Portugal can never expect to rank with the great commercial powers; but may quietly inſure its own

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riches. We ſhall now ſee, in the example of the Dutch, whoſe enterprizes will be the next ſubject of our inquiry, what a ſmall nation can effect, when its ſpeculations are directed by patience, reflection, and œconomy.

END OF THE FIRST BOOK.

BOOK II.

The ſettlements, wars, policy, and trade of the Dutch in the Eaſt-Indies.

THE republic of Holland, from its earlieſt riſe, exhibits a ſcene of grandeur to all nations; and muſt remain an object of the higheſt concern to us, and of curioſity to our remoteſt poſterity. It has diſtinguiſhed itſelf by its induſtry and enterpriſing ſpirit, in all parts; but more eſpecially on the ſeas, and on the continent of India. Before we attend the Dutch in their progreſs to theſe extenſive regions, let us trace their hiſtory to its earlieſt æra. Such a retroſpect is peculiarly proper in a work of this nature, as it will comprehend at one glance, all thoſe characteriſtic marks by which the genius of a nation is diſtinguiſhed. It is neceſſary that a reader who reflects may be enabled to judge for himſelf, whether the original ſtate of this nation were ſuch as afforded a preſage of its future power; and whether the heroic aſſociates of Civilis, who defied the Roman power, transfuſed their ſpirit into thoſe brave republicans, who, under the auſpices of Naſſau, oppoſed the dark and odious tyranny of Philip the Second.

Ancient revolutions in Holland.

IT is a fact eſtabliſhed by the beſt hiſtorical authority, that in the century preceding the Chriſtian æra, the Battæ, diſſatisfied with their ſituation in Heſſe, ſettled upon the iſland formed

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by the Waal and the Rhine, in a marſhy ſoil, which had few or no inhabitants. They gave the name of Batavia to their new country. Their government was a mixture of monarchy, ariſtocracy, and democracy. Their chief was, properly ſpeaking, nothing more than a principal citizen, whoſe office was rather to adviſe than to command. The principal men who exerciſed juriſdiction, and commanded the troops in their reſpective diſtricts, were choſen, as well as the kings, in a general aſſembly. A hundred perſons, ſelected from among the people, preſided over every county, and acted as chiefs in the different hamlets. The whole nation was, in ſome ſort, an army always in readineſs. Each family compoſed a body of militia, which ſerved under a captain of its own chuſing.

SUCH was the ſtate of Batavia when Cæſar paſſed the Alps. This Roman general defeated the Helvetians, ſeveral tribes of the Gauls, the Belgæ and Germans, who had croſſed the Rhine, and extended his conqueſts beyond that river. In conſequence of this expedition, the boldneſs and ſucceſs of which were equally aſtoniſhing, the protection of the conqueror was courted on all ſides.

SOME writers, too zealous for the honour of their country, affirm that the Batavians entered into an alliance with Rome: but the fact is, they ſubmitted, on condition that they ſhould be governed by their own laws, pay no tribute, and be obliged only to perform military ſervices.

CÆSAR ſoon diſtinguiſhed the Batavians from the other nations that were ſubdued by the Romans.

mans. This conqueror of the Gauls, when by Pompey's influence he was recalled to Rome, and refuſed to obey the ſenate's orders; when relying on the abſolute authority which his conduct had at length given him over the legions and auxiliaries, he attacked his enemies in Spain, Italy, and Aſia: then it was, that ſenſible of the Batavians having a principal ſhare in his victories, he gave them the glorious appellation of *the friends and brethren of the Roman people.*

AFTER this, irritated by the unjuſt proceedings of certain governors, they obeyed the dictates of that noble impulſe, ſo becoming men of ſpirit who are prompted to take arms to revenge an inſult. They ſhewed themſelves enemies as formidable as they had been faithful allies: but theſe troubles ſubſided, and the Batavians were pacified, though not ſubdued.

WHEN Rome, after having riſen to a pitch of greatneſs unknown before, and which has never ſince been equalled by any ſtate, no longer retained thoſe manly virtues and auſtere principles which had laid the foundation of her glory; when her laws had loſt their force, her armies their diſcipline, and her citizens the love of their country; the barbarians, who by the terror of the Roman name had been driven back to the north, where they had been compelled to remain, poured like a torrent into the ſouthern countries. The empire was torn in pieces, and the fineſt provinces became a prey to thoſe people whom the Romans had always either degraded or oppreſſed. The Franks, in particular, ſeized upon the countries

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belonging to the Gauls; and Batavia, a part of that extenſive and famous kingdom, which was founded by theſe conquerors in the fifth century.

THE new monarchy experienced thoſe inconveniences which are almoſt inſeparable from riſing ſtates, and are indeed too frequently felt in the beſt eſtabliſhed governments. It was ſometimes under the dominion of a ſingle perſon; and at others was ſubject to the caprice of a number of tyrants. It was conſtantly engaged either in foreign wars, or expoſed to the rage of inteſtine diſſentions. Sometimes it made the neighbouring ſtates tremble for their ſafety; but much more frequently ſuffered from the incurſions of the northern people who ravaged its provinces. It was equally the victim of the weakneſs of ſeveral of its princes, and of the unbounded ambition of their favourites and miniſters. The overbearing ſpirit of the pontiffs undermined the power of the throne, and their inſolence brought both the laws and religion into diſgrace. Anarchy and tyranny followed each other ſo cloſe, that even the moſt ſanguine perſons deſpaired of ſeeing better times. The glorious æra of Charlemagne's government was only a tranſient gleam of light. As his great actions were the effect of his genius, and not in the leaſt owing to the influence of any good inſtitutions; after his death, affairs returned to that ſtate of confuſion from which they had been retrieved by his father Pepin, and more particularly by his own endeavours. The French monarchy, the limits of which he had extended too far, was divided. One of his grandſons, to whom

whom Germany was allotted, obtained alſo Batavia, to which the Normans in their excurſions had lately given the name of Holland.

In the beginning of the tenth century, the German branch of the Carlovinians became extinct. The other princes of France having neither the courage nor power to aſſert their rights, the Germans eaſily diſengaged themſelves from a foreign yoke. Thoſe of the nation, who, by virtue of a delegated power from the monarch, governed the five circles of which the ſtate was compoſed, choſe a chief out of their own body. This chief, fearing leſt theſe powerful men might be tempted to throw off their dependence, if any ſeverer conditions were required of them, contented himſelf with their fidelity and homage, and exacted only ſuch ſervices as they were compelled to by the feudal laws.

At this memorable juncture, the counts of Holland, who, as well as the reſt of the provincial chiefs, had hitherto exerciſed a precarious and dependent authority, obtained the ſame rights as the other great vaſſals of Germany: and as they afterwards enlarged their territories by conqueſt, marriages, and grants from the emperors, they in time became totally independent of the empire. They were not equally ſucceſsful in their unjuſt attempts againſt the public liberty. Their ſubjects were not to be intimidated by force, ſeduced by flattery, or corrupted by profuſion. War and peace, taxes, laws, and treaties were managed by the three united powers of the count, the nobles, and the towns. The republican ſpirit ſtill prevailed

BOOK II. vailed in the nation, when, by ſome extraordinary events, it fell under the dominion of the houſe of Burgundy, the power of which, though before conſiderable, was greatly ſtrengthened by this union.

THOSE who had the ſagacity to inveſtigate probabilities foreſaw, that this ſtate, which was formed as it were by the gradual accretion of many others, would one day be of great weight in the political ſyſtem of Europe. The genius of its inhabitants, its advantageous ſituation, and its real ſtrength, afforded a moſt certain proſpect of its future greatneſs. Theſe projects and expectations, which were juſt upon the point of being fulfilled, were diſappointed by an event, which, though it happens every day, never fails to baffle the deſigns of ambition. The male line in that houſe became extinct; and Mary, who was ſole heireſs to its dominions, by her marriage in 1477, transferred to the houſe of Auſtria the advantages that had been gained by ſeveral ſucceſsful ſtruggles, a variety of intrigues, and ſome acts of injuſtice.

AT this æra, ſo famous in hiſtory, each of the ſeventeen provinces of the Low Countries had particular laws, extenſive privileges, and almoſt a diſtinct government of its own. The excellent principle of union, which equally contributes to the welfare and ſecurity both of empires and republics, was univerſally diſregarded. The people having been, from time immemorial, accuſtomed to this ſtate of confuſion, had no idea that it was poſſible to enjoy a more rational form of adminiſtration,

ſtration. This prejudice was of ſo long a ſtanding, ſo generally adopted, and ſo firmly eſtabliſhed, that Maximilian, Philip, and Charles, the three Auſtrian princes who firſt inherited the dominions of the houſe of Burgundy, thought it prudent not to attempt any innovation. They flattered themſelves, that ſome happier conjuncture might enable their ſucceſſors to execute with ſafety a plan, which they could not even attempt without danger.

Riſe of the republic of Holland.

AT this time a great change was preparing in the minds of men in Europe. The revival of letters, the extenſion of commerce, the invention of printing, and the diſcovery of the compaſs, brought on the æra when human reaſon was to ſhake off the yoke of ſome of thoſe prejudices which had gained ground in the barbarous ages.

THE intelligent part of the world were for the moſt part cured of the Romiſh ſuperſtitions. They were diſguſted at the abuſe the popes made of their authority; the contributions they raiſed upon the people; the ſale of indulgences; and more particularly at thoſe abſurd refinements with which they had diſguiſed the plain religion of Jeſus Chriſt.

BUT theſe diſcerning people were not the firſt who attempted a revolution. This honour was reſerved for a turbulent monk, whoſe barbarous eloquence rouzed the northern nations. The moſt enlightened men of the age contributed to undeceive the reſt. Some of the European princes embraced the reformed religion; others held communion with the church of Rome. The former

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found no difficulty in bringing over their ſubjects to their opinions; while the latter had much difficulty to prevent theirs from embracing the new doctrines. They had recourſe to a variety of meaſures, which were too often purſued with rigour; and the ſpirit of fanaticiſm, which had deſtroyed the Saxons, the Albigenſes, and the Huſſites, was revived. Gibbets were erected, and fires kindled again, to check the progreſs of the new doctrine.

No ſovereign was ſo ready to make uſe of theſe expedients as Philip II. His tyranny was felt in every part of his extenſive monarchy; fanaticiſm prompted him to perſecute thoſe who fell under the denomination of heretics or infidels. The Low Countries were more particularly the ſeat of theſe cruelties; and millions of citizens were condemned to the ſcaffold. The people revolted; and the ſame ſcene was renewed which the Venetians had diſplayed to the world many centuries before, when flying from oppreſſion, and finding no retreat upon land, they ſought an aſylum upon the waters. Seven ſmall provinces lying on the northern ſide of Brabant and Flanders, which were rather overflowed than watered by large rivers, and often covered by the ſea, the violence of which was with difficulty reſtrained by dikes; having no wealth but ſuch as aroſe from a few paſture lands, and a little fiſhing; formed one of the richeſt and moſt powerful republics in the world; which may, perhaps, be alſo conſidered as the model of commercial ſtates. The firſt efforts of this united people had not the deſired ſucceſs; but

but though they were frequently defeated, victory at length declared itſelf for them. The Spaniſh troops they had to encounter, were the beſt in Europe, and at firſt gained ſeveral advantages. But by degrees the new republicans recovered their loſſes. They reſiſted with firmneſs; and gaining experience from their own miſcarriages, as well as from the example of their enemies, they at length became their ſuperiors in the art of war: and the neceſſity they lay under of diſputing every inch of ground in ſo confined a country as Holland, gave them opportunities of improving the art of fortifying a country or a town in the beſt manner.

THE weak ſtate of Holland, at its firſt riſe, obliged it to ſeek for arms and aſſiſtance from every quarter where there was any proſpect of obtaining them. It granted an aſylum to pirates of all nations, with a view of employing them againſt the Spaniards; and this was the foundation of its naval ſtrength. Wiſe laws, an admirable regularity, a conſtitution which preſerved equality among mankind, an excellent police, and a ſpirit of toleration, ſoon erected this republic into a powerful ſtate. In the year 1590, the Hollanders more than once humbled the pride of the Spaniſh flag. They had already eſtabliſhed a kind of trade, the moſt ſuitable that could be to their ſituation. Their veſſels were employed, as they are ſtill, in carrying the merchandiſe of one nation to another. The Hanſe Towns, and ſome towns in Italy, were in poſſeſſion of this carrying trade: and the Hollanders, in competition with

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with them, by their frugality ſoon gained the advantage. Their ſhips of war protected their merchantmen. Their merchants grew ambitious of extending their commerce, and got the trade of Liſbon into their hands, where they purchaſed Indian goods, which they ſold again to all the ſtates of Europe.

PHILIP II. having made himſelf maſter of Portugal, forbad his new ſubjects, in 1594, to hold any correſpondence with his enemies. This arbitrary prince did not foreſee that this prohibition, which he thought muſt weaken the Hollanders, would in fact render them more formidable. Had not theſe diſcerning navigators been excluded from a port, upon which the whole ſucceſs of their naval enterpriſes depended, there is reaſon to believe that they would have contented themſelves with the large commerce they carried on in the European ſeas, without thinking of ſailing to remoter climates. But as it was impoſſible to preſerve their trade without the productions of the Eaſt, they were forced to go beyond a ſphere which was, perhaps, too confined for a ſituation like theirs; and reſolved to ſeek theſe riches at the fountain head.

The firſt voyages of the Hollanders to India.

IT appeared to be the beſt plan to fit out ſhips, and ſend them to India: but the Hollanders wanted pilots who were acquainted with the ſeas, and factors who underſtood the commerce of Aſia. They were alarmed at the danger of making long voyages, where the enemy was maſter of the coaſts, and of having their veſſels intercepted during a paſſage of ſix thouſand leagues. It was judged

judged more adviſeable to attempt the diſcovery of a paſſage to China and Japan through the northern ſeas, which would be a ſhorter, as well as a more ſafe voyage. The Engliſh had made the attempt in vain; and the Hollanders renewed it with no better ſucceſs.

WHILE they were engaged in this enterpriſe, Cornelius Houtman, a merchant of that nation, a man of ſagacity and of a daring ſpirit, being detained at Liſbon for debt, gave the merchants at Amſterdam to underſtand, that if they would procure his enlargement, he would communicate to them many diſcoveries he had made, which might turn to their advantage. He had in fact informed himſelf of every particular relating to the paſſage to India, and the manner of carrying on trade in thoſe parts. His propoſals were accepted, and his debts diſcharged. The information he gave proving anſwerable to the expectations he had raiſed, thoſe who had releaſed him from his confinement formed an aſſociation under the name of the Company of diſtant Countries, and in the year 1595 gave him the command of four veſſels, to conduct to India by the Cape of Good Hope.

THE principal object of this voyage was to obſerve the coaſts, the inhabitants, and the trade of different places, keeping clear, as much as poſſible, of the Portugueſe ſettlements. Houtman reconnoitred the coaſts of Africa and Brazil; made ſome ſtay at Madagaſcar, touched at the Maldives, and viſited the iſlands of Sunda: where finding the country abounding in pepper, he bought

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bought a quantity of it, together with ſome others of the moſt valuable ſpices. His prudence procured him an alliance with the principal ſovereign of Java; but the Portugueſe, notwithſtanding they were hated, and had no ſettlement upon the iſland, created him ſome enemies. Having got the better in ſome ſkirmiſhes he was unavoidably engaged in, he returned with his ſmall ſquadron to Holland; where, though he brought little wealth, he raiſed much expectation. He brought back along with him ſome negroes, Chineſe, and inhabitants of Malabar, a young native of Malacca, a Japaneſe, and Abdul, a pilot of the Guzarat, a man of great abilities, and perfectly well acquainted with the coaſt of India.

THE account given by Houtman, and the diſcoveries made in the courſe of the voyage, encouraged the merchants of Amſterdam to form the plan of a ſettlement at Java, which, at the ſame time that it would throw the trade of pepper into their hands, place them near the iſlands that produce more valuable ſpices, and facilitate their communication with China and Japan, would fix them at a diſtance from the centre of that European power, which they had the moſt reaſon to dread in India. Van Neck, who, in 1598, was ſent upon this important expedition with eight veſſels, arrived at the iſland of Java, where he found the inhabitants unfavourably diſpoſed towards his nation. They fought and negociated by turns. Abdul the pilot, the Chineſe, and, above all, the hatred that prevailed againſt the Portu-

Portugueſe, proved of ſervice to the Dutch. They were permitted to trade, and, in a ſhort time, fitted out four veſſels laden with a quantity of ſpices, and ſome linens. The admiral with the reſt of his fleet ſailed to the Moluccas, where he learnt that the natives of the country had forced the Portugueſe to abandon ſome places, and that they only waited for a favourable opportunity of expelling them from the reſt. He eſtabliſhed factories in ſeveral of theſe iſlands, entered into a treaty with ſome of the ſovereigns, and returned to Europe loaded with riches.

It is impoſſible to deſcribe the joy that prevailed at his return. The ſucceſs of his voyage raiſed a freſh emulation. Societies were formed in moſt of the maritime and trading towns in the Low Countries. Theſe aſſociations ſoon became ſo numerous, that they proved detrimental to each other; for the rage of purchaſing raiſed the value of commodities to an exorbitant degree in India; and the neceſſity of ſelling them made them bear a low price in Europe. They were on the point of being ruined by their own efforts, and by the want of power in each of them to reſiſt a formidable enemy, fully bent upon their deſtruction, when the government, which is ſometimes wiſer than individuals, opportunely ſtepped in to their aſſiſtance.

Eſtabliſhment of the India Company.

In 1602 the ſtates-general united theſe different ſocieties into one body, to which they gave the name of the Eaſt India Company. It was inveſted with authority to make peace or war with the eaſtern princes, to erect forts, chuſe its own

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governors, maintain garriſons, and nominate officers for the conduct of the police, and the adminiſtration of juſtice.

THIS company, which had no parallel in antiquity, and was the pattern of all ſucceeding ſocieties of the ſame kind, began with great advantages. The private aſſociations which had been previouſly formed, proved of ſervice to it by their misfortunes, and even by their miſtakes. The great number of veſſels which they fitted out had contributed to make all the branches of trade perfectly underſtood; to form many officers and ſeamen; and to encourage citizens of repute to undertake theſe foreign expeditions; perſons only of no eſtimation or fortune having been expoſed in the firſt voyages.

So many united aſſiſtances could not fail of being improved to advantage when proſecuted with vigour; and, accordingly, the new company ſoon acquired a conſiderable degree of power. It was a new ſtate, erected within the ſtate itſelf, which enriched it, and increaſed its ſtrength abroad; but might, in time, weaken the influence of the democratical principle, which inſpires the love of equality and œconomy, of the laws, and of one's own countrymen.

SOON after its eſtabliſhment the Company fitted out for India fourteen ſhips and ſome yachts, under the command of admiral Warwick, whom the Hollanders look upon as the founder of their commerce, and of their powerful colonies in the eaſt. He built a factory in the iſland of Java, and ſecured it by fortifications; he likewiſe built

built another in the territories of the king of Johor; and formed alliances with ſeveral princes in Bengal. He had frequent engagements with the Portugueſe, in which he had almoſt always the advantage. In thoſe parts where the Portugueſe had appeared in the character of merchants only, he found it neceſſary to remove the prejudices they had raiſed againſt his countrymen, whom they had repreſented as a ſet of banditti, avowed enemies to all regal authority, and addicted to every kind of vice. The behaviour of the Hollanders and the Portugueſe ſoon convinced the people of Aſia which of theſe nations had the advantage over the other in point of morality. A bloody war ſoon enſued between theſe two powers.

How great muſt have been the aſtoniſhment of the Indians at the ſight of theſe conteſts? What joy muſt have filled their hearts, when they ſaw their tyrants mutually bent upon each other's deſtruction? With what tranſports of gratitude muſt they not have bleſſed that providence, that was avenging the evils they had ſuſtained? And how far muſt not their hopes have been carried, while the blood that was ſpilt on each ſide of them, was either that of an oppreſſor, or of an enemy?

Wars between the Hollanders and Portugueſe.

THE Portugueſe had on their ſide the advantage of a thorough knowledge of theſe ſeas; they were accuſtomed to the climate, and had the aſſiſtance of ſeveral nations, which, though they hated them, were compelled through fear to fight for their tyrants. The Hollanders were animated

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by the urgent ſenſe of their neceſſities; by the hopes of procuring an abſolute and laſting independency, which was ſtill diſputed with them; by the ambition of eſtabliſhing a vaſt commerce upon the ruins of that of their old maſters; and by a hatred which a difference in religious opinions had rendered implacable. Theſe paſſions, at the ſame time that they inſpired all the activity, ſtrength, and perſeverance neceſſary for the execution of their great deſigns, did not prevent them from taking their meaſures with precaution. Their humanity and honeſty attached the people to their cauſe; and many of them ſoon declared againſt their ancient oppreſſors.

THE Hollanders were continually ſending over freſh coloniſts, ſhips, and troops, while the Portugueſe were left without any forces but their own. Spain did not ſend them any fleets of merchantmen, or grant them the protection of the ſquadron which had hitherto been kept in India; ſhe neither repaired their places of ſtrength, nor renewed their garriſons. It ſhould ſeem that ſhe wanted to humble her new ſubjects, whom ſhe thought not ſo ſubmiſſive as might be wiſhed, and to perpetuate her authority by expoſing them to repeated misfortunes. She proceeded ſtill further; and to prevent Portugal from having any reſources in itſelf, ſhe ſeized upon its inhabitants, and ſent them to Italy, Flanders, and other countries where ſhe was at war.

NOTWITHSTANDING this, the ſcale continued even for a long time, and the ſucceſs was various on both ſides. Nor is this in the leaſt ſurpriſing. The

The Portugueſe, on their arrival in India, had nothing to encounter at ſea but a few weak veſſels, ill built, ill armed, and ill defended; nothing by land but effeminate men, voluptuous princes, and daſtardly ſlaves: whereas thoſe who came to wreſt the ſceptre of Aſia out of their hands, had veſſels to board of the ſame conſtruction as their own; regular fortreſſes to aſſault, and Europeans to conquer and ſubdue, who were grown haughty by a long ſeries of victories, and by being the founders of an immenſe empire.

THE time was now come, when the Portugueſe were to expiate their perfidy, their robberies, and their cruelties: and the prediction of one of the kings of Perſia was fulfilled, who aſking an ambaſſador juſt arrived at Goa, how many governors his maſter had beheaded ſince the eſtabliſhment of his power in India? received for anſwer, *None at all. So much the worſe,* replied the monarch; *his authority cannot be of long duration in a country where ſo many acts of outrage and barbarity are committed.*

IT does not however appear, in the courſe of this war, that the Hollanders poſſeſſed that daring raſhneſs, that unſhaken intrepidity, which had marked the enterpriſes of the Portugueſe; but there was a conſiſtency and an unremitting perſeverance obſervable in all their deſigns. Often repulſed, but never diſcouraged, they renewed their attacks with freſh forces, and with better concerted meaſures. They never expoſed themſelves to the hazard of a total defeat. If, in any engagement, their ſhips had ſuffered, they re-

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treated; and as their conſtant object was never to loſe ſight of their commercial intereſt, the vanquiſhed fleet, while it was repairing on the coaſts belonging to ſome of the Indian princes, purchaſed merchandiſe there, and returned to Holland. By this method the company acquired a new fund, which enabled them to undertake freſh enterprizes. If the Hollanders did not always perform great actions, they never attempted uſeleſs ones. They had neither the pride nor the vain-glory of the Portugueſe, who had frequently engaged in war, rather perhaps through the love of fame than of power. The Hollanders ſteadily purſued their firſt plan, without ſuffering themſelves to be diverted from it either by motives of revenge, or ruinous projects of conqueſt.

In the year 1601 they endeavoured, and in 1607 they renewed the attempt, to open a communication with the ports belonging to the vaſt empire of China, which at that time was cautious of admitting ſtrangers. The Portugueſe found means, by bribery and the intrigues of their miſſionaries, to get the Hollanders excluded. They reſolved to extort by force what they could not obtain by treaty, and determined to intercept the veſſels belonging to the Chineſe. This piratical proceeding did not anſwer their expectations. A Portugueſe fleet ſailed from Macao to attack the pirates who thought proper to retire. The inequality of their numbers, the impoſſibility of refitting in ſeas where they had no ſhelter, and the fear of diſgracing their nation in the eyes of a great empire, whoſe good opinion it was their intereſt

intereſt to preſerve; all theſe conſiderations determined them to decline the fight: but this was only for a ſhort time.

SOME years after, the Hollanders laid ſiege to a place, of the importance of which they had gained information. The enterprize did not ſucceed; but as they never loſt any advantage that could be obtained by their armaments, they ſent that which they had employed againſt Maçao to form a colony in the Piſcadore-iſles. Theſe are rocks where no water is to be had in dry ſeaſons, and no proviſions at any time. Theſe inconveniencies were not counterbalanced by any ſolid advantages, becauſe the people of the neighbouring continent were forbidden, on the ſevereſt penalties, to hold any correſpondence with ſtrangers who might become dangerous ſo near the coaſts. The Hollanders had determined to abandon a ſettlement which they deſpaired of making uſeful, when, in the year 1624, they were invited to fix at Formoſa, and had aſſurances given them that the Chineſe merchants would be allowed full liberty to go there and trade with them.

The Hollanders form a ſettlement at Formoſa.

THIS iſland, though it lies oppoſite to the province of Fokien, at the diſtance of only thirty leagues from the coaſt, was not ſubject to the dominion of the Chineſe, whoſe genius does not incline them to conqueſt, and who, through a humane and ill-judged policy, would rather ſuffer a decreaſe of population, than tranſplant their ſupernumerary ſubjects to the neighbouring countries. Formoſa was found to be a hundred and thirty or forty leagues in circumference. Its in-

BOOK II. habitants, to judge from their manners and appearance, ſeemed to be deſcended from the Tartars in the moſt northern part of Aſia: and probably found their way through the country of Corea. They lived chiefly by fiſhing and hunting, and ſcarce wore any covering.

THE Hollanders, having without difficulty informed themſelves of every particular that prudence ſuggeſted, thought it moſt adviſeable to fix their ſettlement on a ſmall iſland that lay contiguous to the larger one. This ſituation afforded them three conſiderable advantages; an eaſy defence, if hatred or jealouſy ſhould incline their neighbours to moleſt them; the convenience of a harbour formed by the two iſlands; and the facility of maintaining a ſafe communication with China during the monſoons: advantages, which they could not have found in any other poſition they might have choſen.

THE new colony inſenſibly gained ſtrength without attracting any notice, till it roſe at once to a degree of conſequence that aſtoniſhed all Aſia. This unexpected proſperity was owen to the conqueſt of China by the Tartars. Thus it is that torrents enrich the vallies with the ſtores they carry down from the deſolated mountains. Above a hundred thouſand Chineſe, who reſolved not to ſubmit to the conqueror, fled for refuge to Formoſa. They brought along with them that induſtry which is peculiar to their character, the manner of cultivating rice and ſugar, and attracted an infinite number of veſſels from their own nation. In a ſhort time the iſland became the centre

centre of all the correſpondence that was carried on between Java, Siam, the Philippine iſlands, China, Japan, and other countries; and in a few years was conſidered as the moſt conſiderable mart in India. The Hollanders flattered themſelves with the proſpect of ſtill greater advantages, when fortune deceived their expectations.

A CHINESE, named Equam, of obſcure birth, whoſe turbulent diſpoſition had made him turn pirate, had attained, by the ſuperiority of his talents, to the rank of high-admiral. He defended his country againſt the Tartars for a conſiderable time, but ſeeing his maſter obliged to ſubmit, he endeavoured to make terms for himſelf with the conquerors. He was decoyed to Pekin, where he was ſeized, and condemned by the uſurper to perpetual impriſonment, in which he is ſuppoſed to have died of poiſon. Coxinga ſaved himſelf on board his father's fleet, vowed eternal enmity to the oppreſſors of his family and country, and concluded that he ſhould be able to take the ſevereſt revenge upon them, by making himſelf maſter of Formoſa. He made a deſcent upon it, and the minister Hambroeck was taken priſoner in the attack.

HAMBROECK, being appointed with ſome other priſoners to be ſent to the fort of Zealand to prevail with his countrymen to capitulate, called to mind the example of Regulus; he exhorted them to be firm, and uſed every argument to perſuade them, that if they ſtrenuouſly perſevered, they would oblige the enemy to retire. The garriſon being aware that this generous man would, on his return

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return to the camp, fall a ſacrifice to his magnanimity, uſed their utmoſt efforts to detain him. Their remonſtrances were ſeconded by the tendereſt ſolicitations of two of his daughters, who were in the citadel. His anſwer was, *I have pledged my honour, to return to my confinement: I hold myſelf obliged to perform my promiſe. My memory ſhall never be ſullied with the reproach, that, out of regard to my own ſafety, I was the cauſe of ſeverer treatment, or perhaps of death, to the companions of my misfortune.* After this heroic ſpeech he calmly returned to the Chineſe camp, and the ſiege began.

NOTWITHSTANDING the fortifications were in a bad condition, and the fort ill-ſtored with ammunition and proviſions; notwithſtanding the garriſon was weak, and the ſuccours ſent to attack the enemy had retreated with diſgrace, Coyet the governor made an obſtinate defence. In the beginning of the year 1662, being forced to capitulate, he repaired to Batavia, where his ſuperiors had recourſe to thoſe iniquitous ſtate-intrigues which are frequently practiſed in all governments. They degraded him, in order to prevent any ſuſpicion that the loſs of ſo important a ſettlement had been owen to their own folly or negligence. The attempts made to recover it proved unſucceſsful; and the Hollanders were at laſt reduced to the neceſſity of carrying on a trade with Canton on the ſame conditions, and under the ſame reſtrictions as other nations.

IT may appear ſomewhat ſingular, that ſince the year 1683, when Formoſa fell under the dominion of China, no Europeans have ever attempted

to

to form any ſettlement there, upon the ſame conditions at leaſt, as that of the Portugueſe at Macao. But beſides that the ſuſpicious temper of the nation to which that iſland belongs, gives no room to expect ſuch an indulgence from them, one may venture to pronounce that ſuch an enterpriſe would be a bad one. Formoſa was a place of importance only ſo long as the Japaneſe had a communication with it, and ſo long as its produce was allowed a free importation into Japan.

Trade of the Hollanders to Japan.

THIS empire of Japan had given refuge in the year 1600 to ſome Hollanders who had been ſhipwrecked on the iſland of Bango: but it was not till 1609, that it received ſome ſhips of the Dutch Eaſt India company.

ABOUT a century before this, the government of Japan had been changed. A magnanimous people had been made furious by a tyrant. Taycoſama, who from a ſoldier became a general, and from a general an emperor, had uſurped the whole power, and aboliſhed all the rights of the people. Having ſtripped the Dairo of the little remains of his authority, he had reduced all the petty princes of the country under his ſubjection. Tyranny is arrived at its height when it eſtabliſhes deſpotiſm by law. Taycoſama went ſtill further, and confirmed it by ſanguinary laws. His civil legiſlation was actually a code of criminal proſecutions, exhibiting nothing but ſcaffolds, puniſhments, criminals, and executioners.

THE Japaneſe, alarmed at this proſpect of ſlavery, had recourſe to arms. Torrents of blood were ſhed throughout the empire: and though liberty might be ſuppoſed to be ſuperior in courage

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rage to tyranny, the latter triumphed over it; and became ſtill more ferocious, when animated by the ſpirit of revenge. An inquiſition, public as well as private, diſmayed the citizens; they became ſpies, informers, accuſers, and enemies to each other. An error in the adminiſtration of the police, was conſtrued into a crime againſt the ſtate; and an unguarded expreſſion was made high-treaſon. Proſecution aſſumed the character of legiſlation. Three ſucceſſive generations were doomed to welter in their own blood; and rebel parents gave birth to a proſcribed poſterity.

DURING a whole century, Japan reſembled a dungeon filled with criminals, or a place of execution. The throne, which was raiſed upon the ruins of the altar, was ſurrounded with gibbets. The ſubjects were become as cruel as their tyrant. They ſought, with a ſtrange avidity, to procure death, by committing crimes which were readily ſuggeſted under a deſpotic government. For want of executioners, they puniſhed themſelves for the loſs of liberty, or revenged themſelves of tyranny, by putting an end to their own exiſtence. To enable them to face death, and to aſſiſt them in ſuffering it, they derived new courage from that ſyſtem of chriſtianity, which the Portugueſe had introduced among them.

THE oppreſſions the Japaneſe laboured under, afforded an opportunity for the profeſſors of this new worſhip to make numerous proſelytes. The miſſionaries who preached a ſuffering religion, were liſtened to with attention. In vain did the doctrine of Confucius try to gain reception among a people who bordered upon China. This doctrine

trine was too ſimple, and too rational for iſlanders, whoſe imagination, naturally reſtleſs, was ſtill more heated by the cruelties of the government. Some erroneous tenets of Chriſtianity, which bore a conſiderable affinity to thoſe of the Budzoiſts, and the penances equally enjoined by the two ſyſtems, procured the Portugueſe miſſionaries ſeveral proſelytes. But, ſetting aſide this reſemblance, the Japaneſe would have choſen to embrace Chriſtianity merely from a motive of hatred to the prince.

If the new religion was diſcountenanced at court, it could not fail to meet with a favourable reception in the families of the dethroned princes. It added freſh fuel to their reſentment: they were fond of a ſtrange God whom the tyrant did not love. Taycoſama ruled with a rod of iron, and perſecuted the Chriſtians as enemies to the ſtate. He proſcribed the doctrines imported from Europe, and this proſcription made them ſtrike the deeper root. Piles were kindled, and millions of victims threw themſelves into the flames. The emperors of Japan tranſcended thoſe of Rome in the art of perſecuting the Chriſtians. During the ſpace of forty years the ſcaffolds were ſtained with the innocent blood of martyrs. This proved the ſeed of Chriſtianity, and at the ſame time of ſedition. Near forty thouſand Chriſtians in the kingdom or province of Arima took up arms in the name, and for the name of Chriſt; and defended themſelves with ſuch fury, that not a ſingle perſon ſurvived the ſlaughter occaſioned by perſecution.

The navigation, trade, and factories of the Portugueſe had ſuſtained themſelves during this great criſis. The government and the people had,

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however, for a long time, been diſſatisfied with them; they had incurred the ſuſpicion of adminiſtration by their ambition, by their intrigues, and perhaps by their ſecret conſpiracies; and had rendered themſelves odious to the people by their avarice, their pride, and their treachery. But as the habit of purchaſing the mercantile articles they brought was now become general, and that theſe goods could not be obtained through any other channel, they were not excluded from Japan till the end of the year 1638; when other merchants were in a ſituation to ſupply their place.

THE Hollanders, who had for ſome time entered into competition with them, were not involved in the diſgrace. As theſe republicans had never ſhewn themſelves ambitious of interfering with the government; as they had ſuffered their artillery to be employed againſt the Chriſtians; as they were at war with the proſcribed nations; as their ſtrength was not thoroughly known, and they appeared to be reſerved, pliant, modeſt, and entirely devoted to commerce; they were tolerated, though at the ſame time they were ſubjected to great reſtraints. Three years after, whether it were that they became actuated by the ſpirit of intrigue and dominion, or, which is more probable, that no conduct whatever could prevent the Japaneſe from harbouring ſuſpicions, they were deprived of the liberty and the privileges they enjoyed.

EVER ſince the year 1641, they have been confined to the artificial iſland of Diſnia, raiſed in the harbour of Nangaſaque, and which has a communication with the city bridge. As ſoon as they arrive, their ſhips are ſtripped, and their powder,

muſkets, ſwords, guns, and even rudder, carried aſhore. In this kind of impriſonment they are treated with a degree of contempt which is beyond conception; and can tranſact no buſineſs but with commiſſaries appointed to regulate the price and the quantity of their merchandiſe. It is impoſſible that the tameneſs with which they have endured this treatment more than a century, ſhould not have leſſened them in the eyes of a nation that is witneſs of it; and that the love of gain ſhould have produced ſuch an extreme inſenſibility to inſults, without tarniſhing their character.

EUROPEAN cloths, ſilks, printed linens, ſugar, woods for dying, and ſome ſpices, chiefly pepper and cloves, are the articles carried to Japan. The ordinary returns were very conſiderable at the time that an indefinite liberty of trade was allowed. When it was ſubjected to reſtrictions, no more than three ſhips were annually fitted out for Batavia, and theſe were ſoon reduced to two. Since the laſt twelve years, there are even but one or two trifling cargoes ſent alternately, whether it be, that the buyer has inſiſted upon this diminution, or whether the ſeller may have been led to it by the little benefit ariſing from this commerce. According to regulations made, all the articles together do not produce more than one million one hundred thouſand livres *; but although theſe regulations may not poſſibly be put rigorouſly in force, ſtill it is affirmed that the profit does not exceed fifty thouſand livres †. It

* 45,833 l. 6 s. 8 d. † 2,083 l. 6 s. 8 d.

would

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would be more conſiderable, if the Dutch were not obliged to ſend annually to the capital of the empire, an ambaſſador loaded with preſents. The payments are made with the beſt ſort of copper in the world, which is conſumed in Bengal, on the coaſt of Coromandel, and at Surat; they are alſo made with camphire, which is uſed in Europe, after it has been purified at Amſterdam.

THE agents of the company are more fortunate than the company they ſerve. By a kind of hoſpitality peculiar to Japan, courteſans are given to them immediately on their arrival, whom they may keep till they go away again. Theſe girls are not only devoted to their pleaſures, but alſo contribute to make their fortunes; ſince it is through their means that the tortoiſe-ſhell, of which the Japaneſe fabricate their moſt eſteemed jewels, is introduced into the country; as likewiſe the camphire of Sumatra, which being naturally perfect enough not to ſtand in need of the operation of fire, is thought worthy to be employed as incenſe.

THEY receive in exchange a very pure kind of gold, which, as well as the merchandiſe, paſſes through the hands of their miſtreſſes, whoſe ſkill and probity in this double negotiation are equally atteſted.

THE trade of the Chineſe, who, except the Hollanders, are the only foreigners admitted into the empire, is not more extenſive than theirs, and ſubjected to the ſame reſtrictions. Ever ſince the year 1688 they are confined during the continuance

ance of the ſale of their goods, without the walls of Nangaſaque, in a kind of priſon, which is divided into ſeveral huts, ſurrounded with a paliſade, and defended by a good ditch, and a guard placed at every avenue. Theſe precautions have been taken, in conſequence of a diſcovery that ſome works in favour of Chriſtianity had been ſold, together with books of philoſophy and morality. The European miſſionaries had ordered ſome people of Canton to circulate them, and the deſire of gain betrayed them into a piece of chicanery, which has been ſeverely puniſhed.

It is natural to ſuppoſe, that thoſe who have changed the antient government of the country into the moſt arbitrary tyranny upon earth, would look upon all intercourſe with ſtrangers as dangerous to their authority. There is the more reaſon for this conjecture, as the inhabitants are all forbidden, on pain of death, to go out of their country. This rigorous edict is become the fundamental maxim of the empire.

Thus the inhuman policy of the ſtate has deprived it of the only means of acquiring a milder temper, by ſoftening the national character. The Japaneſe, fiery as his climate, and reſtleſs as the ocean that ſurrounds him, required that the utmoſt ſcope ſhould be given to his activity, which could only be done by encouraging a briſk trade. To prevent the neceſſity of reſtraining him by puniſhments, it was requiſite to keep him in exerciſe by conſtant labour, and to allow his vivacity an uninterrupted career abroad, when it was in danger of kindling the flame of ſedition at home. That

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energy of mind which has degenerated into fanaticiſm, would have been improved into induſtry; contemplation would have changed into action; and the fear of puniſhment into the love of pleaſure. That hatred of life, which torments the Japaneſe, while he is enſlaved, oppreſſed, and kept in continual fears by the rigour of the laws, againſt which he is perpetually ſtruggling, would have given way to the ſpirit of curioſity, that would have induced him to traverſe the ocean, and viſit foreign nations. By a frequent change of place and climate he would inſenſibly have altered his manners, opinions, and characters; and this alteration would have been as fortunate for him as it is for the generality of people. What he might have loſt by this intercourſe as a citizen, he would have gained as a man; but the Japaneſe are become tygers, under the ſcourge of their tyrants.

WHATEVER may be ſaid in praiſe of the Spartans, the Egyptians, and other diſtinct nations, who have owed their ſuperior ſtrength, grandeur, and permanency to the ſtate of ſeparation in which they kept themſelves; mankind has received no benefit from theſe ſolitary inſtitutions. On the contrary, the ſpirit of intercourſe is uſeful to all nations, as it promotes a mutual communication of their productions and knowledge. In a word, if it were uſeleſs or pernicious to ſome particular people, it was neceſſary for the Japaneſe. By commerce they would have become enlightened in China, civilized in India, and diveſted of all their prejudices among the Europeans.

The Moluccas ſubmit to the Dutch.

THE Dutch had the good fortune to meet with reſources which indemnified them for the loſs they had

had ſuſtained at Japan. They had not yet entered into commerce with theſe, the moſt remarkable iſlands in the torrid zone, when they attempted to ſecure to themſelves the trade of the Moluccas. The Portugueſe, who had long been in poſſeſſion of them, were obliged to ſhare their advantages with their maſters the Spaniards; and, at length, to give up the trade almoſt entirely to them. The two nations, divided in their intereſts, and perpetually at war with each other, becauſe the government had neither leiſure nor ſkill to remove their mutual antipathy, joined to oppoſe the ſubjects of the United Provinces. The latter, aſſiſted by the natives of the country, who had not yet learned to fear or hate them, by degrees gained the ſuperiority. The antient conquerors were driven out about the year 1621; and their place was ſupplied by others equally rapacious, though leſs turbulent, and more enlightened.

As ſoon as the Dutch had eſtabliſhed themſelves firmly at the Moluccas, they endeavoured to get the excluſive trade of ſpices into their own hands: an advantage which the nation they had juſt expelled had never been able to procure. They ſkilfully availed themſelves both of the forts they had taken by ſtorm, and of thoſe they had imprudently been ſuffered to erect, to draw the kings of Ternate and Tidor, who were maſters of this Archipelago, into their ſcheme. Theſe princes found themſelves obliged to conſent, that the clove and nutmeg trees ſhould be rooted up in the iſlands that were ſtill under their dominion. The firſt of theſe ſceptered ſlaves, in conſideration

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of this great ſacrifice, received a penſion of 70,950 livres*; and the other, one of about 13,200†. A garriſon of ſeven hundred men was appointed to ſecure the performance of this treaty: and to ſo low an ebb is the power of theſe kings reduced by war, tyranny, and misfortunes, that theſe forces would be more than ſufficient to keep them in this ſtate of dependence, if it were not neceſſary to have an eye upon the Philippine iſlands, whoſe vicinity conſtantly occaſions ſome alarm. Although the inhabitants be prohibited from carrying on any navigation, and that no foreign nation be admitted among them, the Dutch trade there is in a languiſhing ſtate; as they have no means of exchange, nor any ſilver but what they carry over to pay their troops, their agents, and the penſions. This adminiſtration, deducting the ſmall profits, coſts the company 154,000 livres‡ per annum.

THE tree that bears the clove looks like the birch tree, and its bark is thin and ſmooth like that of the beech. Its trunk, which is compoſed of an exceeding hard wood, does not riſe to any height, but divides itſelf into ſeveral principal branches, the boughs of which are covered with leaves and flowers in the month of March. The leaves are always placed oppoſite to each other, dotted, ſmooth, and not ſerrated, almoſt reſembling in form and conſiſtence thoſe of the laurel. The flowers, diſpoſed in a corymbus terminalis, have each of them a long quadrified calix, which bears as many white petals, and a great number

* 2,956l. 5s. † 549l. ‡ 6,416l. 13s. 4d.

of

of ſtamina. The piſtil incloſed at the bottom of this calix, becomes along with it an oviform fruit filled up with a ſingle kernel, and known by the name of the mother-clove. This ſame calix, gathered before the unfolding of the petals and the fecundation of the piſtil, is properly ſpeaking the clove, the gathering of which is the principal object of the cultivation of the clove-tree; which begins in October and ends in February. When the cloves have acquired a reddiſh caſt, and a certain degree of firmneſs, they are made to fall from the tree by the help of long reeds, or by ſtrongly ſhaking the branches, and are received into large cloths, or upon the ground after it has been ſwept clean. They are afterwards expoſed for a few days to ſmoke upon hurdles covered with large leaves. This fumigation, to which the heat of a ſtove might perhaps be ſubſtituted with advantage, is followed by drying the cloves in the ſun; this operation is thought to be completed, when upon raiſing with the nail, part of the outward covering of the clove, the inſide diſplays a beautiful red colour.

THE clove-tree requires a rich and fertile ſoil. Its growth is aſſiſted by giving it room, and by pulling up the weeds and ſhrubs that ſhoot out in its neighbourhood. This circumſtance has given occaſion to ſome travellers to ſay, that it attracted to itſelf all the nutritious juices of the ſoil it ſprings from. If it were left to itſelf, it would riſe to a conſiderable height; but a low ſtem, ſending off branches at its origin, is preferred, for the facility of gathering the fruit.

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THE cloves which have been left upon the tree continue growing till they are half an inch thick. They are then fit for germination, provided they be immediately put into the ground, and they produce the clove-tree, which flowers only at the end of eight or nine years. Theſe fruits, or mother cloves, though inferior to the common ſort, are not without their value. The Dutch preſerve them in ſugar, and in voyages eat them after meals to promote digeſtion; or make uſe of them as an agreeable remedy for the ſcurvy.

THE clove, to be in perfection, muſt be full ſized, heavy, oily, and eaſily broken; of a fine ſmell, and a hot aromatic taſte, ſo as almoſt to burn the throat; it ſhould make the fingers ſmart when handled, and leave a greaſy moiſture upon them when preſſed. The principal uſe of it is for culinary purpoſes. In ſome parts of Europe, and in India particularly, it is ſo much prized, that it is thought to be an indiſpenſable ingredient in almoſt every kind of nouriſhment. It is there put into food, liquors, wines, and enters likewiſe into the compoſition of perfumes. It is little uſed in medicine; but there is an oil extracted from it which is in conſiderable repute.

THE company have allotted the inhabitants of Amboyna four thouſand parcels of land, on each of which they were at firſt allowed, and about the year 1720 compelled to plant a hundred and twenty-five trees, amounting in the whole to five hundred thouſand. Each tree yields annually, on an average, upwards of two pounds of cloves: and conſequently the collective produce muſt weigh more than a million.

THE

THE cultivator is paid with the ſpecie that is conſtantly returned to the company, and with ſome blue and unbleached cottons which are brought from Coromandel. This ſmall trade might, in ſome meaſure, have been increaſed, if the inhabitants of Amboyna, and the ſmall iſlands that depend upon it, would have attended to the culture of pepper and indigo, which has been tried with ſucceſs. Miſerable as theſe iſlanders are, they ſtill remain in a ſtate of indolence, becauſe they have not been tempted by an adequate reward for their labours.

THE adminiſtration is ſomewhat different in the iſlands of Banda, which are thirty leagues diſtant from Amboyna. There are five of theſe iſlands, two of which are uncultivated and almoſt uninhabited; and the other three claim the diſtinction of being the only iſlands in the world that produce the nutmeg.

THE nutmeg-tree, in its ſize and foliage, reſembles the pear-tree. Its trunk, which is not high, is covered, as well as the branches, with a ſmooth, aſh-coloured bark. Its leaves, alternately diſpoſed, are oval, ſharp pointed, green on the upper ſurface, whitiſh on the lower, and when bruiſed diffuſe an aromatic ſmell. The flowers, the botanical characters of which have not yet been ſufficiently obſerved, are ſucceeded by the fruit, which is covered with an external green covering, ſimilar in its form to that of the common walnut, but more fleſhy and full of juice. This external covering when grown ripe, ac-

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quires a deep yellow colour, and as it opens, diſcovers an internal membranous coat, of a beautiful red colour, ſlit through in different places, and known by the name of mace, which lies immediately over the thin and brittle ſhell that incloſes the nutmeg. This is the time to gather it, otherwiſe the mace would get looſe, and the nutmeg would loſe that oil which preſerves it, and in which its excellence conſiſts. The nutmegs that are gathered before they are perfectly ripe, are preſerved in vinegar or ſugar, and are admired only in Aſia.

It is nine months before the fruit comes to perfection. After it is gathered, the outer rind is ſtripped off, and the mace ſeparated from it, which is laid in the ſun to dry. The nuts require more preparation. They are ſpread upon hurdles, or dried for ſix weeks by a ſlow fire, in ſheds erected for that purpoſe. They are then ſeparated from the ſhell, and thrown into lime-water, which is a neceſſary precaution to preſerve them from worms.

The nutmeg differs in goodneſs according to the age of the tree, the ſoil, the expoſition, and method of culture. This tree, contrary to the clove, delights in a damp ſoil, overgrown with weeds, and even ſhaded by large trees, provided it be not ſtifled by them. Under their ſhelter it thrives very well, and bears the colds which are ſometimes felt on the tops of the mountains. The round nutmeg is preferred to that which is oblong, though they are only different conformations of the ſame fruit. That fruit is more particularly

cularly eſteemed which is freſh, moiſt, heavy, of a good ſmell, and an agreeable though bitter flavour, and which yields an oily juice upon being pricked. The immoderate uſe of this ſpice brings on paroxyſms of madneſs, and ſometimes occaſions death. In proper quantities, it facilitates digeſtion, expels wind, ſtrengthens the bowels, and ſtops the dyſentery. The congealed oil which is drawn by expreſſion from the nutmegs rejected at the market, and that which is furniſhed by the mace, are uſed externally in diſorders of the nervous ſyſtem.

A WILD kind of clove-tree is found at Amboyna, which differs from the former in growing to a greater height, in having its leaves much longer, and its matrices very oblong, rough upon the ſurface, and of a diſagreeable taſte. The iſlands of Banda furniſh alſo five or ſix ſpecies of wild nutmeg-trees, which the Dutch have neglected to deſtroy, becauſe the fruit they bear, being but ſlightly aromatic, and of no value in trade, is merely an object of curioſity.

IF we except this valuable ſpice, the iſlands of Banda, like all the Moluccas, are barren to a dreadful degree. What they produce in ſuperfluities they want in neceſſaries. The land will not bring forth any kind of corn: and the pith of the ſago ſerves the natives of the country inſtead of bread.

As this food will not be ſufficient for the Europeans who ſettle in the Moluccas, they are allowed to fetch proviſions from Java, Macaſſar, or the extremely fertile iſland of Bali. The company itſelf carries ſome merchandiſe to Banda.

THIS

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THIS is the only ſettlement in the Eaſt Indies that can be conſidered as an European colony; becauſe it is the only one where the Europeans are proprietors of lands. The company, finding that the inhabitants of Banda were ſavage, cruel, and treacherous, becauſe they were impatient under their yoke, reſolved to exterminate them. Their poſſeſſions were divided among the white people, who got ſlaves from ſome of the neighbouring iſlands to cultivate the lands. Theſe white people are for the moſt part Creoles, or malcontents who have quitted the ſervice of the company. In the ſmall iſle of Roſinging, there are likewiſe ſeveral banditti, whom the laws have branded with diſgrace, and young men of abandoned principles, whoſe families wanted to get rid of them: ſo that Banda is called the *Iſland of Correction*. Theſe wretches live but a ſhort time here: but the other iſlands of Banda are not much leſs fatal. It is on account of the loſs of ſo great a number of men, that attempts have been made to transfer the culture of the nutmeg to Amboyna; and the company were likewiſe probably urged to this by the two other powerful motives of œconomy and ſecurity. But the experiments that have been made have proved unſucceſsful, and matters remain in their former ſtate.

To ſecure excluſively to themſelves the produce of the Moluccas, which are, with good reaſon, ſtiled the *gold mines* of the company, the Dutch have purſued all the means that an enlightened ſpirit of avarice could ſuggeſt to them; and

and have been aſſiſted in their deſigns by nature.

THE earthquakes, which are frequent and dreadful in theſe latitudes, render the navigation dangerous. They ſwallow up every year banks of ſand in theſe ſeas, and form new ones in their ſtead. Theſe revolutions, the frequency and effects of which are exaggerated by policy, muſt of courſe keep at a diſtance the foreign navigator, who is in want of the neceſſary aſſiſtances to guide his ſhip with ſafety.

THIS firſt circumſtance in favour of an excluſive trade, is ſtrengthened by another, perhaps ſtill more efficacious. During a conſiderable part of the year, the ſhips driven off by winds and oppoſite currents, cannot land at the Moluccas; and are therefore obliged to wait for the favourable ſeaſon ſucceeding theſe tempeſtuous times. But at this period, a number of experienced and vigilant guarda coſtas take poſſeſſion of this ocean, now become quiet, in order to keep off or ſeize upon all the ſhips that may have been brought there by the allurement of gain.

IT is in theſe calm ſeaſons that the governors of Amboyna and Banda are employed in going over the iſlands, in which the company, at the firſt dawn of their power, deſtroyed all the ſpices. The odious buſineſs they are engaged in obliges them to maintain a perpetual ſtruggle with the liberality of nature, and to cut up the trees wherever they ſprout. They are forced to renew their expeditions every year, becauſe the earth, rebelling againſt the hands that lay it waſte, ſeems

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ſeems obſtinately to ſtrive againſt the wickedneſs of men; and becauſe the nutmeg and the clove, ſpringing up afreſh under the knife that extirpates them, deceive that cruel ſpirit of rapaciouſneſs, which is an enemy to every thing that does not grow for itſelf. Theſe abominable excurſions begin and end with feſtivals, the particulars of which would make a man of the leaſt feeling ſhudder, if I could prevail upon myſelf to mention them.

THE intent of all civil and religious feſtivals, from their firſt inſtitution down to our times, either in the huts of the ſavage, or in civilized towns, is to renew the remembrance of ſome favourable period, or ſome fortunate event, and they are each of them marked with their peculiar characters. The prieſt uſhers in the day with the ringing of his bells; he opens the gates of his temple; he ſummons the citizens to the foot of the altar; he arrays himſelf in his moſt ſumptuous garments; he raiſes his hands towards heaven; he implores its mercy for the future, and expreſſes his gratitude for the paſt, in ſongs of gladneſs. On going out of the temple, the civil feſtival begins, and joy is diſplayed under another aſpect. The tribunals of juſtice are ſhut. The noiſe which is no longer heard in the ſhops, breaks forth in the ſtreets and public places. The ſound of muſic invites to the ſprightly dance, in which perſons of both ſexes and of various ages mix together. The ordinary ſtrictneſs of parents is relaxed; and wine flows abundantly on all ſides. At length the abſence of the ſun is ſupplied

ſupplied by illuminations, which reſtore to pleaſure that freedom that the light of the day ſeemed to preclude. With what impatience are not theſe days of public rejoicing expected? They are talked of long before they arrive; and become the general topic of converſation for a long time after they have been celebrated. Thus it is, that if the people be wretched, they are made to forget their daily afflictions; if they be happy, thus it is that their affection for the authors of their felicity is redoubled; and that the ſpark of enthuſiaſm is kept alive, either by the remembrance of the good ſovereigns by whom they have been governed heretofore, or by the recollection of the brave and virtuous anceſtors from whom they are deſcended. It ſhould ſeem, however, that at the Moluccas, the feſtivals inſtituted by the Dutch have had no other view, but to perpetuate the memory of the atrocious acts they have committed, and to cheriſh the ſentiment of vengeance in the heart. It is only under the empire of demons, that feſtivals ſhould be gloomy: but ſuch is the averſion of man for labour, that the people delight in all kinds of feſtivals, whether they be melancholy or cheerful.

THE Dutch, in order that they might the more effectually graſp, in proceſs of time, the monopoly of the ſpice trade, have formed two ſettlements, one at Timor, the other at Celebes.

The Dutch form a ſettlement at Timor.

THE firſt of theſe iſlands is ſixty leagues long, and from fifteen to eighteen broad. It is divided into ſeveral ſovereignties; in which there are numbers of Portugueſe. Theſe conquerors, who at their

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their firſt arrival in India had advanced with the utmoſt intrepidity and moſt amazing celerity, and had purſued a long and dangerous career with a rapidity which nothing could ſtop; who were ſo well accuſtomed to acts of heroiſm, that they performed the moſt arduous enterpriſes with eaſe; theſe conquerors, I ſay, when they were attacked by the Dutch, at the time that their whole empire, grown too large and tottering under its own weight, was tumbling to ruin on all ſides, diſplayed none of thoſe virtues which have laid the foundation of their power. When they were diſpoſſeſſed of a fort, driven out of a kingdom, or diſperſed in conſequence of a defeat, they ſhould have ſought an aſylum among their brethren, and ſhould have rallied under ſtandards that had hitherto been invincible; either to put a ſtop to the progreſs of the enemy, or to recover their ſettlements: but ſo far were they from forming a reſolution ſo generous, that they ſolicited ſome employment, or penſion, from thoſe very Indian princes whom they had ſo often inſulted. Thoſe who had contracted a habit of effeminacy and idleneſs above the reſt, retreated to Timor, which, being a poor iſland, where no works of induſtry were carried on, would ſcreen them, they thought, from the purſuit of an enemy intent upon uſeful conqueſts. They were however deceived. In the year 1613 they were driven from the town of Cupan by the Dutch, who found a fort there, which they have ever ſince garriſoned with fifty men. The company ſends ſome coarſe linens there every year, and receives in return, wax, tortoiſe-

tortoiſe-ſhell, ſanders wood, and cadiang, a ſmall ſpecies of bean, commonly uſed by the Dutch on ſhip-board, by way of varying the food of the crew. All theſe objects employ one or two ſloops, which are diſpatched from Batavia: nothing is either gained or loſt by this ſettlement; the profits juſt anſwer the expences. The Dutch would have abandoned Timor long ago, if they had not been apprehenſive that ſome active nation might fix there, and avail themſelves of the opportunities that ſituation would give them to diſturb the trade of the Moluccas. It was the ſame cautious principle which drew them to Celebes.

The Dutch make themſelves maſters of Celebes.

THIS iſland, which is about a hundred and thirty leagues in diameter, is very habitable, though ſituated in the centre of the torrid zone. The heats are allayed by copious rains and cooling breezes. The inhabitants are the braveſt people in the ſouth of Aſia; their firſt attack is furious; but, after a conteſt of two hours, a total want of courage takes place of this extraordinary impetuoſity: the intoxicating fumes of opium, which are certainly the cauſe of this terrible fury, go off, after they have exhauſted their ſtrength in tranſports that approach to madneſs. The *Kris*, which is their favourite weapon, is a foot and a half long; it is ſhaped like a poniard, and the blade is ſerpentine. They never carry more than one to battle; but in private quarrels two are neceſſary; they parry with that in the left hand, and attack the adverſary with the other. The wounds made by this weapon are very dangerous, and

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and the duel moſt commonly ends in the death of both the combatants.

THE inhabitants of Celebes are rendered active, induſtrious, and robuſt, by a rigid education. Every hour in the day their nurſes rub them with oil, or lukewarm water. Theſe repeated unctions encourage nature to unfold her powers with freedom. They are weaned at a year old, an idea prevailing, that if they continued to ſuck any longer, it would hurt their underſtandings. When they are five or ſix years old, the male children of any diſtinction are intruſted to the care of ſome relation or friend, that their courage may not be weakened by the careſſes of their mothers, and a habit of reciprocal tenderneſs. They do not return to their families till they have attained the age in which the law permits them to marry.

HERE we have indeed a ſingular inſtance of civilization among ſlaves, upon the moſt important concern of human life. Which of the poliſhed nations of Europe has carried the care of education ſo far? Which of us as yet thought of ſecuring his poſterity from the effects of parental ſeduction? The precautions taken at Celebes, which would be uſeful in all ranks, would be particularly neceſſary for the children of monarchs.

THESE are more expoſed than others to be tainted with that corruption which ſurrounds them on all ſides; and which at once attacks their head and their heart, through the medium of all their ſenſes. How is it poſſible that they ſhould be affected with the ſight of miſery, which they

are unacquainted with, and never experience? That they ſhould be lovers of truth, when their ears have been only accuſtomed to the accents of flattery? Admirers of virtue, while they are bred in the midſt of unworthy ſlaves, who are all eager to extol their propenſities and their inclinations? Patient in adverſity, which they are not always exempt from? Or how ſhould they be reſolute in dangers to which they are ſometimes expoſed, when they have been enervated by effeminacy, and continually impreſſed with ideas of the importance of their exiſtence? How is it poſſible that they ſhould eſtimate the ſervices they receive, or know the value of the blood ſpilt for the preſervation of their empire, and to enhance the ſplendour of their reign, when they have imbibed the fatal prejudice of every thing being their due, and of its being even too great an honour to die in their cauſe? Strangers to every idea of juſtice, how is it poſſible that they ſhould not become the ſcourge of that portion of the human race, whoſe happineſs is committed to their care?

FORTUNATELY, theſe corrupt tutors are ſooner or later puniſhed by the ingratitude of their pupils; who, themſelves being miſerable in the midſt of their greatneſs, are all their life-time tormented with a deep ſenſe of diſguſt, which cannot be removed from their palaces. Fortunately, the ſullen ſilence of their ſubjects announces to them, from time to time, the hatred they are held in; and they are too weak to diſdain it. Fortunately, the religious prejudices that have

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been inſtilled into them, riſe up and tyrannize their conſciences. Fortunately, after a life which no mortal, not even the loweſt of their ſubjects would accept of, if he were ſenſible of all the wretchedneſs of it, they find gloomy perturbation, terror, and deſpair, attending upon their laſt moments.

FORMERLY the people of Celebes acknowledged no other gods but the ſun and the moon. They ſacrificed to them in the public ſquares, having no materials which they thought valuable enough to be employed in raiſing temples. According to the creed of theſe iſlanders, the ſun and moon were eternal as well as the heavens, the empire of which they divided between them. Ambition ſet them at variance. The moon, flying from the ſun, miſcarried, and was delivered of the earth; ſhe was big with ſeveral other worlds, which ſhe will ſucceſſively bring forth, but without violence, in order to repair the loſs of thoſe which the fire of her conqueror will conſume.

THESE abſurdities were univerſally received at Celebes; but they had not ſo determined an influence over either the nobles or the people as is found in the religious doctrines of other nations. About two centuries ago, ſome Chriſtians and Mohammedans having brought their opinions here, the principal king of the country took a total diſlike to the national worſhip. Alarmed at the terrible cataſtrophe with which he was equally threatened by both the new ſyſtems of religion, he convened a general aſſembly. On the day appointed he aſcended an eminence; where

ſpreading

ſpreading out his hands towards heaven, and in a ſtanding poſture, he addreſſed the following prayer to the Supreme Being:

" GREAT God, I do not, at this time, fall " down before thee, becauſe I do not implore " thy clemency. I have nothing to aſk of thee " which thou ought'ſt not in juſtice to grant. " Two foreign nations, whoſe mode of worſhip is " widely different, are come to ſtrike terror into " my mind, and the minds of my ſubjects. They " aſſure me, that thou wilt puniſh me eternally if I " do not obey thy laws: I have therefore a right " to require that thou would'ſt make them known " to me. I do not aſk thee to reveal the impe- " netrable myſteries which ſurround thy eſſence, " and which to me are uſeleſs. I am come hither " to inquire, together with my people, what thoſe " duties are which thou intendeſt to preſcribe " to us. Speak, O my God! ſince thou art the " Author of nature, thou can'ſt diſcern the bottom " of our hearts, and knoweſt that it is impoſſible " they ſhould entertain any thoughts of diſobe- " dience. But if thou condeſcendeſt not to make " thyſelf underſtood by mortals; if it be unwor- " thy of thine eſſence to employ the language of " man to dictate the duties required of man; I " call my whole nation, the ſun which enlightens " me, the earth that ſupports me, the waters that " encompaſs my dominions, and thyſelf to wit- " neſs, that in the ſincerity of my heart I ſeek to " know thy will: and I declare to thee this day, " that I ſhall acknowledge, as the depoſitaries of " thy oracles, the miniſters of either religion

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"whom thou ſhalt cauſe to arrive the firſt in our "harbours. The winds and the waves are the "miniſters of thy power; let them be the ſignals "of thy will. If, with theſe honeſt intentions, I "embrace an error, my conſcience will be at eaſe; "and the blame will lie upon thee."

THE aſſembly broke up, determined to wait the orders of heaven, and to follow the firſt miſſionaries that ſhould arrive at Celebes. The apoſtles of the Coran were the moſt active, and the ſovereign and his people were circumciſed: the other parts of the iſland ſoon followed their example.

THIS unfortunate circumſtance did not prevent the Portugueſe from gaining a footing at Celebes. They maintained their ground there, even after they were driven out of the Moluccas. The motive which induced them to ſtay, and which attracted the Engliſh to this place, was, the facility of procuring ſpices, which the natives of the country found means to get, notwithſtanding the precautions that were taken to keep them at a diſtance from the places where they grew.

THE Dutch, who by this competition were prevented from monopolizing the articles of cloves and nutmegs, attempted, in 1660, to put a ſtop to this trade, which they called contraband. To favour this deſign, they had recourſe to means repugnant to all principles of morality, but which an inſatiable avarice has rendered very common in Aſia. By perſevering in theſe infamous proceedings, they ſucceeded ſo far as to drive out the Portugueſe, keep off the Engliſh, and take poſſeſſion of the harbour and fort of Macaſſar. From that

that time they were abſolute maſters of the iſland without having conquered it. The princes among whom it was divided, re-united in a kind of confederacy. They hold aſſemblies, from time to time, on affairs that concern the general intereſt; and the reſult of their determinations becomes a law to each ſtate. When any conteſt ariſes, it is decided by the governor of the Dutch colony, who preſides at this diet. He obſerves theſe different ſovereigns with a watchful eye, and keeps them in perfect equality with each other, to prevent any of them from aggrandizing himſelf to the prejudice of the Company. The Dutch have diſarmed them all, under pretence of hindering them from injuring each other; but in reality with a view of depriving them of the power of breaking their chains.

THE Chineſe, who are the only foreigners permitted to come to Celebes, carry thither tobacco, gold wire, china, and unwrought ſilks. The Dutch ſell opium, ſpirituous liquors, gum lac, fine and coarſe linens. This iſland furniſhes a little gold, great quantities of rice, wax, ſlaves, and tripam, a ſpecies of muſhroom, which increaſes in value in proportion to the roundneſs of its form, and the blackneſs of its colour. The cuſtoms bring in 88,000 livres* to the Company: but it receives a much larger profit from its trade, and the tenth part of the territory which it holds in full right of ſovereignty. Theſe advantages, however, taken together, do

* 3,666l. 13s. 4d.

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not counterbalance the expences of the colony, which ariſe to 165,000 livres* more. It would certainly be given up, if it were not with reaſon looked upon as the key of the ſpice iſlands.

The Dutch open a communication with Borneo.

THE ſettlement at Borneo was formed with a leſs intereſting view. It is one of the largeſt, if not actually the largeſt iſland hitherto known. The antient inhabitants live in the inland parts. The coaſts are peopled with inhabitants from Macaſſar, with Japaneſe, Malayans, and Arabs, who, to the vices that are natural to them, have added a ferocity hardly to be met with elſewhere.

ABOUT the year 1526 the Portugueſe attempted to ſettle at Borneo. Too feeble to make their arms reſpected, they tried to gain the good-will of one of the ſovereigns of the country by offering him ſome pieces of tapeſtry. This weak prince took the figures wrought in it for inchanted men, who would ſtrangle him in the night-time, if he ſuffered them to come near his perſon. The explanations they gave to remove his apprehenſions had no effect; he obſtinately refuſed to let the preſent be brought into his palace, and prohibited the donors from entering his capital.

HOWEVER, theſe adventurers afterwards gained admiſſion; but this was an unfortunate privilege to them, for they were all maſſacred. A factory, which the Engliſh eſtabliſhed ſome years after, ſhared the ſame fate. The Dutch, who had met with no better treatment, appeared again, in the year 1748, with a ſquadron, which, though very

* 6,875l.

inconſi-

inconſiderable, ſo far impoſed upon the prince, to whom the pepper entirely belongs, that he determined to grant them the privilege of trading for it excluſively: with this ſingle reſerve, that he ſhould be allowed to deliver five hundred thouſand pounds of this article to the Chineſe, who had always frequented his ports. Since this treaty, the Company ſends rice, opium, ſalt, and coarſe linens, to Bendermaſſen: articles, the profits upon which are ſcarce ſufficient to defray the expences of the ſettlement, although they do not exceed 33,000 livres * per annum. The profits ariſe, however, from the ſale of a ſmall number of diamonds, picked up at great intervals, in the rivers, and from ſix hundred thouſand weight of pepper, which the Company purchaſe at 34 livres † the hundred. Even the agents cannot obtain any thing from Borneo, for their own private traffic, except thoſe beautiful canes, the uſe of which becomes more and more general in our climates. More conſiderable advantages are derived from Sumatra.

Settlement of the Dutch at Sumatra.

THIS iſland extends from north to ſouth eleven degrees. It is divided into two parts, almoſt equal, by the equator, which cuts it obliquely. The heats are moderated by a regular ſucceſſion of ſea and land breezes, and by very plentiful rains, which are frequent in a country covered with foreſts, and where the thouſandth part of the ſoil is not cleared. Upon this immenſe ſpace, volcanos are infinitely common; and this is the

* 1,375 l. † 1l. 8s. 4d.

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reaſon, perhaps, why earthquakes are more frequent than deſtructive.

THE ſouth part of the iſland is occupied by the Malayans, whoſe anceſtors had no more than ſix leagues of the ſea to croſs to go into another country. The time of their coming there is not known; neither are we acquainted with the difficulties they had to conquer in forming their ſettlement. The feudal government, under which they were born, was that which they eſtabliſhed. Each captain appropriated to himſelf a certain diſtrict, for which he paid homage to ſome chief of higher reputation. This kind of ſubordination has gradually diminiſhed; but there are ſtill ſome traces of it remaining.

THE religion of theſe people is Mohammedaniſm, blended with a variety of other fables. Their notions upon the univerſe are particularly whimſical. They believe that the earth, which is perfectly motionleſs, is ſupported by an ox, the ox by a ſtone, the ſtone by a fiſh, the fiſh by water, the water by air, the air by darkneſs, and darkneſs by light. This is the end of their ſyſtem; but the allegory, which might be couched under theſe abſurdities, is entirely loſt.

THE Malayans have few civil laws; and their criminal code is ſtill ſhorter. Fines, equally divided between the injured perſon, or his heirs, and the magiſtrate, are the only puniſhment for murder and other crimes. If the delinquency be not proved, they have recourſe to thoſe extravagant and capricious kinds of proof, which for a long time have been the opprobrium of Europe.

ONE

ONE of the ſingularities of their manners is, that they never pay any viſit without bringing ſome preſent along with them. This conſiſts uſually in birds, lemons, or cacao nuts. No greater rudeneſs could be offered than to refuſe them; but this is a kind of unpoliteneſs that never occurs.

As theſe people have few wants ariſing from ſocial connections, and as their real neceſſities are eaſily ſupplied by nature, they ſeldom apply themſelves to labour, and that with the utmoſt reluctance. They dwell in huts, raiſed upon pillars of eight feet high, which are made of bamboo, and covered with palm leaves; and their furniture conſiſts of a few earthen veſſels. A piece of cloth, twiſted round the loins in form of a girdle, is the common covering of the two ſexes.

IN the north-weſt part of the iſland we meet with another nation, known by the name of Batta. It is a cuſtom with theſe people, to eat criminals convicted of treaſon or adultery. It is ſaid, that the hope of inſpiring horror for theſe crimes, which were become too common, is the only motive that has given riſe to ſo barbarous a cuſtom.

IN the northern part, and there only, the gum Benzoin is found, which is chiefly conſumed in Perſia; and it is there alſo that we find that precious camphire growing, the uſe of which is reſerved for the Chineſe, and eſpecially for the Japaneſe.

CAMPHIRE

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CAMPHIRE is a volatile and penetrating oil, or reſin, fit for diſpelling tumours, and ſtopping the progreſs of inflammation; and it is alſo known, for the uſe that is made of it in fireworks.

THE tree which furniſhes the camphire, is a ſpecies of laurel, common in Japan, and in ſome diſtricts of China. Its trunk riſes to the height of the oak. The leaves, alternately diſpoſed upon the boughs, are thin, ſhining, oval, terminating in a point, and emitting a ſmell of camphire, when they are bruiſed. The flowers, collected into cluſters, are white; and are each of them compoſed of ſix ſhort petals, in the midſt of which is a piſtil, ſurrounded by nine ſtamina. As the fruit ripens, it becomes a ſmall blackiſh berry, of the ſize of a pea, and filled with an oily kernel. All the parts of the plant contain camphire; but the greateſt quantity is obtained from the trunk, and eſpecially from the roots. For this purpoſe, they are cut into ſlices, and put with water into an iron veſſel covered over with its receiver. The heat of a fire, lighted underneath the veſſel, makes the camphire riſe, which attaches itſelf to the receiver. It is collected with care, and then ſent into Holland, where it is purified by a ſecond diſtillation, before it is expoſed to ſale.

THE camphire that is brought from Sumatra is by much the moſt perfect. This is ſo well known, that the Japaneſe and Chineſe themſelves give ſeveral quintals of theirs for one pound of this. The botaniſts are not yet well acquainted

acquainted with the tree that produces it. All they know is, that it does not grow ſo high as the former; that its petals are more elongated, its fruit larger, and its leaves, as well as its wood, thicker and leſs odoriferous. The aſſiſtance of fire is not called in to extract the camphire from it; but after the trunk has been ſplit into pieces, this ſubſtance is ſeparated from it quite formed and lodged in the interſtices of the fibres, ſometimes in clots, and ſometimes diſpoſed in flakes, or in the form of berries, which are more eſteemed in proportion to their ſize and purity. Each tree yields about three pounds of a light, friable, and eaſily ſoluble camphire, which evaporates in the air, though much more ſlowly than the camphire of Japan.

THE ordinary kind of camphire is ſeldom given internally, becauſe it excites nauſea and affects the head. That of Sumatra acts very differently; for it ſtrengthens the ſtomach, removes obſtructions, and increaſes the efficacy of the medicines with which it is combined. Both the ſorts of camphire appear to be the produce of the ſame tree, which is probably a ſpecies of the laurel. We are induced to think this, becauſe the genuine cinnamon tree of Ceylon, and the baſtard one of Malabar, other ſpecies of the ſame genus, yield by diſtillation a real camphire, but leſs perfect and in ſmaller quantity.

THE lands in the north-eaſt part of the iſland are almoſt always under water; ſo that there are ſcarce any inhabitants there; and the few that are found are pirates. They were almoſt all deſtroyed

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deſtroyed in 1760; but a new ſet of robbers have ariſen, as it were, from their aſhes; and have begun again to infeſt the Streights of Malacca, and other leſs celebrated latitudes.

THE mountains in the interior parts of the country are full of mines; and the ſurface of them is ſtirred up in the dry ſeaſon. The rains, which laſt from November to March, and which fall down in torrents, detach the gold, the matrix of which is a very white ſpar, from the earth, and draw it along into circles made of willow, deſtined to receive it, and diſpoſed in great numbers, ſo that the gold which might eſcape the firſt, may be retained in ſome of the ſucceeding ones. When the ſky becomes ſerene again, each proprietor goes with his ſlaves to collect the treaſures, more or leſs conſiderable, which chance has allotted to him. He exchanges them for linens, or other goods, furniſhed by the Engliſh and the Dutch.

THESE have attempted to work the mines of Sumatra, according to the method generally practiſed in the old and new hemiſpheres. Whether from ignorance or diſhoneſty, the two experiments made for this purpoſe have failed; and the company has at length been convinced, after having been led into too much expence, that it was not proper for them any longer to purſue ſo precarious a track of fortune.

BEFORE the arrival of the Europeans in India, the little trade carried on by Sumatra was all concentred in the port of Achem. There it was that the Arabs and other navigators bought gold,

gold, camphire, benzoin, the neſts of birds, pepper, and in general every thing theſe iſlanders had to ſell. The Portugueſe, and the nations which raiſed themſelves upon their ruin, alſo frequented this mart, when it was overturned by ſome of thoſe revolutions which are too frequent in theſe countries.

At this period the Hollanders thought of eſtabliſhing ſix factories in other parts of the iſland which enjoyed moſt tranquillity. The advantages which might have been reaped from theſe trifling ſettlements in the beginning, have been almoſt entirely loſt in proceſs of time.

The moſt uſeful of them muſt be that of Palinban, ſituated in the eaſtern part of the iſland. The company maintains there a fort and garriſon of eighty men for ſixty-ſix thouſand livres *. Two millions weight of pepper are delivered to them at twenty-three livres ten ſols † the hundred; and one million and a half weight of tin at ſixty-one livres twelve ſols ‡ the hundred. This laſt article is obtained entirely from the iſle of Banca, which is only one mile and a half diſtant from the continent; and which gives the name to the famous ſtreight through which the veſſels going directly from Europe to China generally paſs.

Although the Dutch get the commodities they purchaſe at Palinban at a low price, yet this price yields ſome profit to the ſovereign of the diſtrict, who forces his ſubjects to furniſh them

* 2,750l. † 19s. 3d. ‡ 2l. 11s. 4d.

to

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to him at a ſtill lower rate. This inſignificant deſpot draws from Batavia part of the food and clothing for the inhabitants of his dominions; and yet the Dutch are obliged to ſettle their account with him in piaſtres. From this money, and from the gold taken out of his rivers, he has amaſſed a treaſure which is known to be immenſe. One ſingle European veſſel might poſſeſs itſelf of all theſe riches; and if there were any troops on board that it might land, they might maintain themſelves in a poſt which would have been taken without difficulty. It appears very extraordinary that an enterpriſe ſo uſeful and ſo eaſy ſhould not have enticed the avarice of ſome adventurer.

CIVILIZED nations who, to make themſelves maſters of the univerſe, have trampled upon all the rights, and ſtifled all the dictates of nature, will ſcarcely ſhrink at one additional act of injuſtice or cruelty. There is not a nation in Europe which does not think it has a juſt right to ſeize upon the treaſures of the Eaſt. Setting aſide motives of religion, which it is no longer faſhionable to plead, ſince its very miniſters have brought it into diſrepute, by their unbounded avarice and ambition, how many pretences are ſtill remaining to juſtify the rage of invaſion! People who live under a monarchy are deſirous of extending the glory and empire of their maſter beyond the ſeas. Theſe happy people are ready to venture their lives in the extreme parts of the globe, to increaſe the number of fortunate ſubjects who live under the laws of the beſt of

princes. A free nation, which is its own maſter, is born to command the ocean; it cannot ſecure the dominion of the ſea, without ſeizing upon the land, which belongs to the firſt poſſeſſor; that is, to him who is able to drive out the ancient inhabitants; who are therefore to be enſlaved by force or fraud, and exterminated in order to get their poſſeſſions. The intereſts of commerce, the national debt, and the majeſty of the people, require it. Republicans, who have happily ſhaken off the yoke of ſovereign tyranny, muſt impoſe it on others in their turn. If they have broken their chains, it is to forge new ones. They deteſt monarchy, but they are in want of ſlaves. They have no lands of their own; they muſt therefore ſeize upon thoſe of others.

Trade of the Dutch at Siam.

THE trade of the Dutch at Siam was at firſt rather conſiderable. A tyrannic prince, who oppreſſed this unhappy country, having about the year 1660 ſhewn a want of reſpect to the company, it puniſhed him, by abandoning the factories it had eſtabliſhed in his dominions, as if it would have been a favour to have continued them. Theſe republicans, who affected an air of grandeur, choſe at that time to have their preſence looked upon as a favour, a ſecurity, and an honour: and they inculcated this ſingular prejudice with ſo much ſucceſs, that, in order to engage them to return, a pompous embaſſy was ſent, aſking pardon for what had paſt, and giving the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of a different conduct for the future.

THERE

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THERE was a time, however, when this deference was to ceaſe, and it was haſtened by the naval enterprizes of other powers. The affairs of the company at Siam have always been in a declining ſtate. Having no fort, it has never been in a condition to maintain the excluſive privilege. The king, notwithſtanding the preſents he requires, ſells merchandiſe to traders of all nations, and takes goods from them on advantageous terms: with this difference only, that they are obliged to ſtop at the mouth of the Menan, whereas the Dutch go up the river as far as the capital of the empire, where their agent conſtantly reſides. Their trade derives no great activity from this privilege. They ſend only one veſſel, which tranſports Javaneſe horſes, and is freighted with ſugar, ſpices, and linens; for which they receive in return tin, at ſeventy-ſeven livres * a hundred weight; gum lac, at fifty-ſeven livres four ſols †, ſome elephants teeth, at three livres twelve ſols ‡ a pound; and from time to time a ſmall quantity of gold duſt. One may venture to aſſert, that their connections here are kept up merely on account of the ſappan wood, which is neceſſary for the ſtowing of their ſhips; and for which they give no leſs than five livres ten ſols ‖ per hundred weight. Were it not for this want, they would long ago have given up a trade in which the expence exceeds the profits; becauſe the king, who is the only merchant in his dominions, ſets a very low price upon the commodities that are import-

* 3 l. 4 s. 2 d. † 2 l. 7 s. 8 d. ‡ 3 s. 8 d.
‖ 4 s. 7 d.

ed.

ed. A more intereſting object turned the ambitious views of the Dutch towards Malacca.

Situation of the Dutch at Malacca.

THESE republicans, who knew the importance of this place, uſed their utmoſt efforts to make themſelves maſters of it. Having failed in two attempts, they had recourſe at laſt, if we may believe a ſatirical writer, to an expedient which a virtuous people will never employ; but which frequently anſwers the purpoſe of a degenerate nation. They endeavoured to bribe the Portugueſe governor, whom they knew to be covetous. The bargain was concluded, and he introduced the enemy into the city in 1641. The beſiegers haſtened to his houſe and maſſacred him, to ſave the payment of the 500,000 livres* they had promiſed him. But truth obliges us to declare, for the honour of the Portugueſe, that they did not ſurrender till after a moſt obſtinate defence. The commander of the victorious party aſked the oppoſite commander, in a boaſting ſtrain which is not natural to his nation, When he would come back again to the place? *When your crimes are greater than our's*, replied the Portugueſe gravely.

THE conquerors found a ſtrong-built fort; a very healthy climate, though hot and damp; but the trade was entirely decayed; the continual exactions having deterred all nations from reſorting there. It has not been revived by the company, either on account of ſome inſuperable difficulties, or the want of moderation, or the fear of injuring Batavia. The tranſactions at preſent are

* 20,833 l. 6 s. 8 d.

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confirmed to a ſmall quantity of opium and gold, ſome linens, tin, and ivory.

THEIR trade would be more conſiderable, if the princes adhered more faithfully to the excluſive treaty ſubſiſting between them. Unfortunately for their intereſts, they have formed connections with the Engliſh, who furniſh them with the commodities they want at a cheaper rate, and give a greater price for their merchandize. Their farms and cuſtoms make them ſome little amends, bringing in 220,000 livres * a year. Theſe revenues, however, and the advantages of commerce taken together, are not ſufficient to maintain the garriſon and people employed, which coſts the company 44,000 livres †.

THIS might for a long time have appeared to be a ſmall ſacrifice. Before the Europeans had doubled the Cape of Good Hope, the Moors, who were the only maritime people in India, ſailed from Surat and Bengal to Malacca, where they found traders from the Molucca iſlands, Japan, and China. When the Portugueſe became maſters of this place, they did not wait till the merchandiſe of the Eaſt was brought from Aſia, but they went to fetch it themſelves, and returned by the Sunda iſlands. When the Dutch had got poſſeſſion of Malacca and Batavia, they were maſters of the two only paſſages that were then known, and were able to intercept in time of war the enemy's veſſels. The Straits of Lombock and Bali have been diſcovered ſince, and Malacca then

* 9,166l. 13s. 4d. † 1,833l. 6s. 8d.

loſt

loſt the only advantage that gave it importance. Fortunately for the Hollanders at this period, they were ſubduing Ceylon, which was to ſupply them with cinnamon, as the Moluccas did with nutmeg and cloves.

Settlement of the Dutch at Ceylon.

SPILBERG, the firſt of their admirals who diſplayed his flag on the coaſt of this delicious iſland, found the Portugueſe employed in ſubverting the government and the religion of the country; in exciting the ſovereigns, among whom it was divided, to deſtroy each other; and in raiſing themſelves upon the ruins of the ſtates that were thus ſucceſſively demoliſhed. He offered the court of Candy the aſſiſtance of his country, which was joyfully accepted. *You may aſſure your maſters*, ſaid the monarch, *that if they will build a fort, myſelf, my wife, and children, will be the foremoſt in bringing the neceſſary materials.*

THE people of Ceylon looked upon the Dutch in no other light than as the enemies of their oppreſſors, and joined them. By their united forces, the Portugueſe were, towards the year 1658, entirely expelled, after a long, bloody, and obſtinate war. All their ſettlements fell into the hands of the company, who ſtill keep poſſeſſion of them, excepting a ſmall diſtrict on the eaſtern coaſt, without any port, from whence the ſovereign of the country had his ſalt; theſe ſettlements formed a regular ſtring, extending from two to twelve leagues into the inland parts of the iſland.

IT is at Mataran only, and that not for any conſiderable time paſt, that pepper and coffee are

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cultivated. The territory of Negombo produces the beſt cinnamon. Columbo, well known for the goodneſs of its areca, is the capital of the colony. Had it not been for the expences which the Portugueſe had laid out upon this place, the badneſs of its road would probably have determined the conquerors to fix their adminiſtration and forces at the promontory of Galla, where the harbour, though too narrow and difficult of acceſs, is much ſuperior. Still greater conveniences and more ſecurity would be found at Trinquimale: but this excellent and ſpacious harbour is ſituated in an ungrateful ſoil, and at too great a diſtance from all vendible commodities, to be proper for a ſtaple. The uſe of the ports of Jaffranapatan, Manar, and Calpentine, is to prevent all commercial intercourſe with the people of the neighbouring continent.

By theſe precautions, the company have appropriated all the productions of the iſland. The various articles which conſtitute the ſeveral branches of trade, are, 1. Divers precious ſtones, moſt of which are of an inferior quality. The Cooleys on the coaſt of Coromandel, are the perſons who buy them up, cut them, and diſperſe them in the ſeveral parts of India.

2. Pepper, which the company buy for eight ſols nine deniers* a pound; coffee, for which they only pay four ſols four deniers†; and cardamom, which has no fixed price. The natives of the country are ſo indolent, that theſe productions will never turn to any great advantage.

* About 4½d. † Little more than 2d.

3. A HUN-

3. A HUNDRED bales of handkerchiefs, pagnes and ginghams, of a fine red colour, which are fabricated by the Malabars at Jaffranapatan, where they have long been ſettled.

4. A SMALL quantity of ivory, and about fifty elephants, which are carried to the coaſt of Coromandel. Thus this gentle and peaceful animal, which is too uſeful to mankind to be ſuffered to remain upon an iſland, is tranſported to the continent, to aggravate and bear a part in the dangers and horrors of war.

5. ARECA, which the company buys at the rate of eleven livres * the ammonan, a kind of meaſure which is ſuppoſed to hold twenty thouſand arecas, and ſells upon the ſpot at thirty-ſix or forty livres †. The areca is a fruit rather common in moſt parts of Aſia, and eſpecially at Ceylon. It grows upon a kind of palm-tree, which, like the cocoa-tree, has fibrous roots and a cylindrical ſtem, marked with circular inequalities; large pennatified leaves, ſheathed at their baſes, and covered with a kind of net-work when they are young; cluſters of male and female flowers together and incloſed, before they expand, in ſpatha. It is diſtinguiſhed by the trunk being equally ſtrait throughout its length; the diviſions of its leaves are larger, and thoſe which are placed at the end of the centre coſta are generally ſhorter than the reſt, and denticulated at the point.

THE greateſt difference lies in the fruit, which is oviform. Its bark is ſmooth and rather thick;

* 9s. 2d. † From 1l. 10s. to 1l. 13s. 4d.

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the kernel within it is of a whitiſh colour, of a ſubſtance analogous to that of the nutmeg, and of the ſame ſize, but harder, and ſtreaked internally. This fruit is much uſed in Aſia. When eaten by itſelf, as it ſometimes is by the Indians, it impoveriſhes the blood, and dries up the fibres. It is not attended with theſe inconveniences when mixed with betel.

THE betel is a plant that creeps or climbs, like the ivy, along-ſide of trees or props, to which it fixes itſelf by ſmall roots. From each joint of its ſarmentoſe ſtem a leaf goes off ſhaped almoſt like a heart, rather long and narrowed at its extremity, like that of the convolvulus or binweed, uſually marked with ſeven nerves, more or leſs apparent. The flowers, arranged in a cloſe cluſter, puſh out at the inſertion of the leaves, and reſemble the flowers of the pear-tree, which has a great affinity to this plant. The betel grows in every part of India, but does not come to perfection except in damp and clayey places. There are private cultivations of it, which turn out to a good account, becauſe of its being in conſtant uſe.

AT all times of the day, and even in the night, the Indians chew the leaves of the betel, the bitterneſs of which is corrected by the areca that is wrapped up in them. There is conſtantly mixed with it the chinam, a kind of burnt lime made of ſhells. The rich frequently add perfumes, either to gratify their vanity or their ſenſuality.

IT would be thought a breach of politeneſs among the Indians to take leave for any length of time,

time, without preſenting each other with a purſe of betel. It is a pledge of friendſhip that relieves the pain of abſence. It is cuſtomary to have the mouth always perfumed with betel, unleſs one is going to addreſs one's ſuperiors. The women of gallantry are the moſt laviſh in the uſe of betel, as being a powerful incentive to love. Betel is taken after meals; it is chewed during a viſit; it is offered when you meet, and when you ſeparate; in ſhort, nothing is to be done without betel. If it be injurious to the teeth, it aſſiſts and ſtrengthens the ſtomach. This is at leaſt the prejudice generally prevailing throughout India.

6. The pearl fiſhery, which is alſo one of the ſources of the revenue of Ceylon. It is no improbable conjecture that this iſland, which is only fifteen leagues from the continent, was at ſome diſtant period ſeparated from it by ſome great convulſion of nature. The tract of ſea, which at preſent divides it from the land, is ſo full of ſhallows, that no ſhips can ſail upon it; and there are only a few places where ſmall boats may paſs in four or five feet water. The Dutch, who aſſume the ſovereignty here, have always two armed ſloops to enforce the payment of the taxes they have impoſed. In this ſtrait the pearl fiſhery is carried on, which was formerly of ſo much importance; but this ſource of wealth has been ſo much exhauſted, that it is but ſeldom it can be reſorted to. The bank, indeed, is viſited every year, to ſee how it is repleniſhed with oyſters; but, in general, it is five or ſix years before a ſufficient quantity is to be found. The fiſhery is

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then farmed out; and, every thing computed, it may produce to the revenues of the company 200,000 livres *. Upon the ſame coaſts is found a ſhell-fiſh called chanque, of which the Indians at Bengal make bracelets. The fiſhery is free, but the trade is excluſive.

But the great object of the company is cinnamon, which is the produce of a ſpecies of laurel. The root of this tree is fibrous, covered with a very odoriferous bark, from which a real camphire is extracted by diſtillation. Its trunk, of a moderate height, is divided into ſeveral branches; its leaves, almoſt always oppoſite and green, are oval, ſharp pointed, and marked with three principal nerves; they are of a dark green, and have the ſmell of the clove. It is at their axilla, or at the extremity of the branches, that we find cluſters of very ſmall white flowers, each compoſed of ſix petals, nine ſtamina, and one piſtil, which, as it ripens, becomes a ſmall berry of the form and conſiſtence of an olive, and filled with a bony kernel. According to ſome obſervers, the piſtil and the ſtamina are ſeparate and ſupported upon two different plants, one male, the leaves of which are ſharper; the other female, which has them rounder. The berry, when boiled in water, yields an oil which ſwims at the top, and takes fire. If it be ſuffered to congeal, it acquires a degree of whiteneſs and conſiſtence, and candles are made of it, which have an agreeable ſmell, and are kept only for the uſe of the king of Ceylon.

* 8,333 l. 6s. 8d.

The

THE wood has no ſmell: the bark, which conſiſts of three layers, and covers the trunk and the branches, is the only valuable part of the tree. In the months of February and September, that is to ſay, when the ſap is moſt abundant, the two external layers are removed with great care, ſo as not to injure that which is cloſe to the wood; in order that the wood may with eaſe acquire a freſh bark, which is taken off as the former at the end of eighteen months. Theſe barks, when ſtripped of their epidermis, which is grey and rugged, are cut into ſlices, and expoſed to the ſun, and curl up in drying.

THE old trees furniſh only a coarſe and almoſt inſipid kind of cinnamon; but to make them young again, it is ſufficient to cut off the trunk. The ſtock then produces a number of freſh ſtems which anſwer every expectation.

THE cinnamon is not reckoned excellent, unleſs it be fine, ſmooth, brittle, thin, of a yellow colour inclining to red, fragrant, aromatic, and of a poignant, yet agreeable taſte. The connoiſſeurs give the preference to that, the pieces of which are long but ſlender. It adds to the delicacies of the table, and is of ſovereign uſe in medicine.

AT Ceylon, the art of ſtripping the cinnamon trees is an employment of itſelf and of the meaneſt kind. For this reaſon it is left to the Cooleys alone, who form the loweſt of the caſts. Any other individual who ſhould follow this buſineſs, would be ignominiouſly expelled from his tribe.

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THE whole iſland is not covered with cinnamon trees, as it is generally ſuppoſed; nor is it poſſible to ſtrip all thoſe that grow there. The mountains inhabited by the Bedas are full of them; but theſe ſingular people do not admit either the Europeans, or the Cinglaſſes into their country; and there is no poſſibility of penetrating into it without being perpetually engaged in war. The Dutch buy the greateſt part of the cinnamon they want from their ſubjects at Negombo, Columbo, and the promontory of Galla, the only diſtricts under their dominion that ſupply any. The reſt they obtain from the Court of Candi at a higher price. One with another, however, it does not coſt them more than thirteen ſols two deniers * a pound.

THE territorial revenue, the cuſtoms, and other branches of trade at Ceylon, do not yield annually more than two millions two hundred thouſand livres †; but the expences of the government, and defence of it, amount to two millions four hundred and twenty thouſand livres ‡: this deficiency is ſupplied from the profits on the cinnamon, which are applied to defray the expences of the wars, that are but too frequent in theſe parts.

UPON the firſt commencement of hoſtilities moſt of the inhabitants who dwell upon the coaſt, and deteſt the European yoke, retire into the inland parts of the country. They do not even always wait for this ſignal, but ſometimes take the reſolution to withdraw themſelves as ſoon as they

* About 7 d.

† 91,666l. 13 s. 4 d.

‡ 100,833l. 6 s. 8 d.

perceive the leaſt miſunderſtanding between their old and new maſters. The uſurpers, then deprived of the hands that uſed to ſupply them with riches, are obliged to penetrate, by force of arms, into a country interſected in all parts by rivers, woods, ravins, and mountains.

THE Dutch, who foreſaw theſe calamities, endeavoured, from the time of their firſt ſettlement in the country, to ſeduce the king of Candi, by all the means that are generally moſt prevailing among the deſpotic princes of Aſia. Every year they ſent an ambaſſador laden with rich preſents. They offered their ſhips to convey his prieſts to Siam, to be inſtructed in the religion of that country, which is the ſame with his own. Although they had ſubdued the forts and lands which were occupied by the Portugueſe, they contented themſelves with receiving from this prince the appellation of *guardians of his coaſts*. They alſo made him ſeveral other conceſſions.

THESE ſingular inſtances of management have not, however, been always ſufficient to maintain tranquillity, which has ſeveral times been interrupted. The war, which ended on the 14th of February 1766, had been the longeſt and the moſt active of any that had been occaſioned by miſtruſt, and the claſhing of intereſts. As the company preſcribed terms to a monarch who was driven from his capital, and obliged to wander in the woods, they made a very advantageous treaty. Their ſovereignty was acknowledged over all the countries they were in poſſeſſion of before the troubles broke out; and that part of the coaſts which remained

in

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in the occupation of the natives was ceded to them. They are to be allowed to peal the cinnamon in all the plains, and the court is to ſell them the beſt ſort that is produced in the mountainous parts at the rate of two livres ſeven ſols two deniers * per pound. Their agents are authoriſed to extend their trade to all parts where they think it can be carried on with advantage. The government engages to have no connection with any other foreign power; and even to deliver up any Europeans who may happen to have inſinuated themſelves into the iſland. In return for ſo many conceſſions, the king is to receive annually the value of the produce of the ceded coaſts: and from thence his ſubjects are to be furniſhed gratis with ſalt ſufficient for their conſumption. It ſhould ſeem that the company may derive great advantages from ſo favourable an agreement.

THE property of the lands in Ceylon belongs to the ſovereign more particularly than in any other part of India. This pernicious ſyſtem has in that iſland been attended with the fatal conſequences that are inſeparable from it. The people are in a ſtate of total inactivity. They live in huts, have no furniture, and ſubſiſt upon fruits; and thoſe who are the moſt affluent, have no other covering than a piece of coarſe linen wrapped about their waiſt. It were to be wiſhed that the Dutch would purſue a ſcheme, which all the nations who have eſtabliſhed colonies in Aſia are

* Near 2s.

to

to blame never to have attempted, and that is, to diſtribute the lands among the families, and make them their own property. They would forget, and perhaps hate their former ſovereign; they would attach themſelves to a government that conſulted their happineſs; they would become induſtrious, and occaſion a greater conſumption. Under ſuch circumſtances the iſland of Ceylon would enjoy that opulence which was deſigned it by nature: it would be ſecure from revolutions, and be enabled to ſupport the ſettlements of the neighbouring continent, which it is bound to protect.

Trade of the Dutch on the coaſt of Coromandel.

As ſoon as the Dutch appeared in India, they were deſirous of having factories on the coaſts of Coromandel and Orixa. With the conſent of the ſovereigns of the country, they eſtabliſhed ſome at different times on the fiſhing coaſt, at Negapatnam, at Sadraſpatnam, at Pellicate, and at Bimilipatnam. They obtain annually from theſe ſeveral ſettlements, for the Aſiatic or European markets, four or five thouſand bales of linen, which are conveyed to Negapatnam, the principal of all theſe ſtations. This ſtaple was entirely open till the year 1690, when a tolerably regular citadel was built there, but of little extent. The houſes allowed to be erected there at intervals, having in proceſs of time rendered the fortifications uſeleſs, it was reſolved, in 1742, to ſurround the town with walls. Its territory, which at firſt was much confined, was ſucceſſively enlarged with ten or twelve villages, which were filled with manufactures.

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THE Dutch, in exchange for the merchandiſe they receive, give iron, lead, copper, tin, ſugar, arrack, wood for the building of houſes, pepper, ſpices, and tutenague, a kind of mineral partaking of the nature of iron and tin. Upon theſe united articles they gain one million one hundred thouſand livres *; to which may be added, eighty-eight thouſand livres †, the produce of the cuſtoms. The preſent expences amount to eight hundred and eight thouſand livres ‡; and we may venture to aſſert, without fear of being accuſed of exaggeration, that the freighting of the ſhips abſorbs the reſt of the profits. The net produce therefore of trade to the company is nothing more than what they get by the ſale of their linens.

Trade of the Dutch on the coaſt of Malabar.

THEIR ſituation is ſtill leſs advantageous at Malabar. The Portugueſe, driven from all parts, ſtill maintained their ground in this portion of India, with ſome degree of conſideration, when in the year 1663 they were attacked by the Dutch, who took from them Culan, Cananor, Grandganor, and Cochin. The victorious general had but juſt inveſted this laſt place, the moſt important of them, when he received intelligence of a peace being concluded between his country and Portugal. This news was kept ſecret. The operations were carried on with vigour; and the beſieged haraſſed by continual aſſaults, ſurrendered the eighth day. The next day a frigate arrived from Goa with the articles of peace. The

* 45,833 l. 6 s. 8 d. † 3,660 l. 13 s. 4 d.
‡ 33,666 l. 13 s. 4 d.

conquerors gave themſelves no further trouble to juſtify their treachery, than by alleging that thoſe who complained in ſo haughty a ſtile, had obſerved the ſame conduct at Brazil a few years before.

AFTER this conqueſt the Dutch thought themſelves certain of carrying on a conſiderable trade in Malabar. The event has not anſwered the expectations conceived; for the company have not ſucceeded according to their hopes of excluding other European nations from this coaſt. They procure no merchandiſe there but what they are furniſhed with from their other ſettlements; and being rivalled in their trade, they are obliged to give a higher price here than in the markets, where they enjoy an excluſive privilege.

THEIR articles of ſale conſiſt of a ſmall quantity of alum, benzoin, camphire, tutenague, ſugar, iron, calin, lead, copper, and quickſilver. The veſſel that has carried this trifling cargo returns to Batavia laden with caire, or cocoa-tree bark, for the uſe of the port. By theſe articles the company gain at moſt 396,000 livres *, which, with 154,000 livres †, the produce of the cuſtoms, make the ſum total of 550,000 livres ‡. In time of profound peace the maintenance of theſe ſettlements coſts 510,400 livres §; ſo that there are no more than 39,600 livres ‖ remaining to defray the expences of their ſhipping, for which that ſum is certainly not ſufficient.

* 16,500 l. † 6,416 l. 13 s. 4 d. ‡ 22,916 l. 13 s. 4 d.
§ 21,266 l. 13 s. 4 d. ‖ 1,650 l.

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IT is true the company gets two millions weight of pepper from Malabar, which is carried in ſloops to Ceylon, where it is put aboard the ſhips fitted out for Europe. It is likewiſe true, that by virtue of theſe capitulations they pay only thirty-eight livres eight ſols * for pepper, for which the rival companies pay from forty-three †, to forty-eight livres ‡, and private merchants ſtill a great deal more: but whatever advantage they may derive from this article is more than abſorbed by the bloody wars it occaſions.

THESE obſervations had undoubtedly eſcaped the notice of Goloneſs, the director-general of Batavia, when he ventured to affirm that the ſettlement of Malabar, which he had long ſuperintended, was one of the moſt important ſettlements belonging to the company. "I am ſo far "from being of your opinion," ſaid general Moſſel, "that I could wiſh the ſea had ſwallowed it up a "century ago."

Settlement of the Dutch at the Cape of Good Hope.

BE this as it may, the Dutch, in the height of their ſucceſs, felt the want of a place where their veſſels might put in for refreſhments either in going to or returning from India. They were undetermined in their choice, when Van-Riebeck the ſurgeon, in 1650, propoſed the Cape of Good Hope, which the Portugueſe had imprudently neglected. This judicious man, during a ſtay of ſome weeks, was convinced that a colony might be placed to advantage on this ſouthern extremity of Africa, which might ſerve as a ſtaple

* 1l. 12s. † 1l. 15s. 10d. ‡ 2l.

for

for the commerce of Europe and Aſia. The care of forming this ſettlement was committed to him; and his meaſures were concerted upon a good plan. He made a regulation that every man who choſe to fix there, ſhould have a proper quantity of land allotted him. Corn, cattle, and utenſils were to be provided for thoſe who wanted them. Young women taken from alms-houſes were given them as companions, to alleviate and to ſhare their fatigues. All perſons, who after three years found the climate did not agree with them, had liberty to return to Europe, and to diſpoſe of their poſſeſſions in what manner they choſe. Having ſettled theſe arrangements, he ſet ſail.

THE large tract of country which it was propoſed to cultivate, was inhabited by the Hottentots, who are a people divided into ſeveral clans, each of which forms a ſmall independent republic; their villages conſiſt of huts covered with ſkins, which cannot be entered without creeping upon their hands and knees, and are diſpoſed in a circle. Theſe huts are hardly of any other uſe than to hold a few proviſions and houſehold furniture. The Hottentots never enter them but in the rainy ſeaſon. They are always found lying at their doors; there it is, that, equally regardleſs of the future and the paſt, they ſleep, ſmoke, and intoxicate themſelves.

THE management of cattle is the ſole employment of theſe ſavages. As there is but one herd in each town, which is common to all the inhabitants, each of them is appointed to guard it in his turn. This poſt requires conſtant vigilance,

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the country being full of wild voracious beaſts. The ſhepherd ſends out ſcouts every day. If a leopard or tyger be ſeen in the neighbourhood, the whole town takes up arms, and flies to the enemy, who ſeldom eſcapes from a multitude of poiſoned arrows, or ſharp ſtakes hardened in the fire.

As the Hottentots neither have, nor appear to have riches, and that their ſheep, which is all their property, are in common; there muſt neceſſarily be but little cauſe for diſputes among them. Accordingly, they are united to each other by the ties of unalterable friendſhip: nor would they ever engage in war with their neighbours, if it were not for the quarrels between the ſhepherds on account of cattle that may have ſtrayed or been carried off.

LIKE all people who lead a paſtoral life, they are full of benevolence, and partake, in ſome degree, of the uncleanlineſs and ſtupidity of the animals they keep. They have inſtituted a badge of diſtinction, with which they honour thoſe who have ſubdued any of the monſters that are deſtructive to their ſheepfolds. The apotheoſis of Hercules had no other origin.

IT would be a difficult matter to deſcribe the language of theſe ſavages with the characters we make uſe of. It is a kind of warbling, compoſed of whiſtlings, and other extraordinary ſounds, which have ſcarcely any affinity to ours.

THE fabulous accounts, which ſay that the women of this nation have a fleſhy apron, falling down from the middle of the belly, over the parts of

of generation, are at length diſcredited. It has been certified, that theſe women are formed nearly in the ſame manner as we ſee many others in hot climates, where the external organs, both upwards and all round, acquire a larger ſize, and a more extended ſhape than in temperate climates. But it is very certain, and has often been obſerved, that the Hottentot men have but one teſticle.

THE ſame views of utility, and the preſence of the ſame dangers, inſpire mankind with the ſame ideas, both in the depth of foreſts, and in the midſt of ſociety. It is not clear even whether this obſervation ought not to be extended to animals. Birds have a warble that is peculiar to them; and which is of another kind, when they are to watch over their own preſervation, or that of their young. It is a matter we are ignorant of, whether theſe ſignals, as temporary as the wants that occaſion them, are, or are not, the conſequence of reflection. But it is certain that they are in them, as well as in us, the effects of concern, fear, and anger; and that habit makes them appear ſuch to each other. Thus it is that in political revolutions, the conſpirators have a ſignal by which they know each other; notwithſtanding the tumult that prevails, and in the midſt of the confuſion. It is a croſs, a feather, a ſcarf, or a ribband; it is an exclamation, a word, or the ſound of an inſtrument, which awakens thoſe to whom it is addreſſed; while it leaves thoſe, who have not the key of it, involved in ſleep and ſecurity.

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Such was, according to all probability, the firſt origin of moſt of the ſingular cuſtoms we find among ſavages, and even among civilized nations. They were diſtinguiſhing characters of the clan to which they belonged, and marks by which they knew each other. The circumciſion of the Jews and Mohammedans was perhaps adopted with the ſame view as flat noſes, flattened and oblong heads, hanging and bored ears, or as the figures traced upon the ſkin, the marks made with burning inſtruments, the long and ſhort heads of hair, and the mutilation of certain members among other nations. By the amputation of the prepuce, one Jew or Mohammedan diſcovers himſelf to another; and by that of the teſticle, one Hottentot certifies to another that he is of the ſame nation. And why ſhould not theſe diſtinctions have been deſtined to tranſmit the ſentiment either of hatred, or friendſhip, or the conformity of religious worſhip; to perpetuate the memory of a benefit or of an injury, or to recommend to one claſs of men the purſuit of vengeance, or the returns of gratitude towards another claſs?

The more the ſtate of man ſhall be reduced to that of a wandering people, the more will theſe tokens be uſeful. Let us ſuppoſe two individuals, who ſhall have had no kind of intercourſe with each other in their own country, meeting together in a diſtant climate. They immediately recogniſe one another, addreſs each other with mutual confidence, embrace, communicate their reciprocal ſufferings, pleaſures, or wants, and

lend

lend each other aſſiſtance. Legiſlators, anxious of keeping the nations they had civilized ſeparate from the barbarous people that ſurrounded them, and apprehending that in proceſs of time they might ſtill be confounded with the general maſs, have placed theſe ſigns under the ſanction of the gods. The ſavages have made them as permanent as poſſible, as much by the degree of conſideration they attach to them, as by the violence they have conſtantly done to nature. Thus it is that the uncivilized world, having no fixed ſyſtem of education, aſſociation, and morality, have ſupplied the want of them by univerſal habits. The diſpoſition of the climate determined the choice of theſe. The children of nature were ſubjected, without ſuſpecting it, to a ſingular kind of authority, which governed without oppreſſing them; and thus it is that the Hottentots aſſumed the manners of herdſmen.

But it may be aſked, Whether theſe Hottentots are happy? And in return I ſhall aſk, Where is the man ſo prejudiced in favour of the advantages of our ſocial inſtitutions, and ſo great a ſtranger to our ſufferings, as not ſometimes to return in idea into the midſt of the foreſts, or at leaſt to envy the happineſs, innocence, and tranquillity of a patriarchal life? This is exactly the life of the Hottentot. Are you fond of liberty? He is free. Are you deſirous of health? He knows no other illneſs but old age. Are you delighted with virtues? He has inclinations which he ſatisfies without remorſe, but is a ſtranger to vice. I know very well that you will ſeparate yourſelves

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with diſguſt from a man wrapped up, as it were, in the entrails of animals. Do ye think then, that the corruption in which ye are plunged, your hatred, your perfidy, and your duplicity, are not more diſguſting to my reaſon, than the uncleanlineſs of the Hottentots is diſguſting to your ſenſes?

You ſmile with contempt upon the ſuperſtitions of the Hottentots. But do not your prieſts poiſon your minds in your infancy with prejudices which torment you during life; which ſow diviſions in your families, and arm your countries againſt each other? Your anceſtors, have they not deſtroyed each other ſeveral times in defence of incomprehenſible queſtions? Theſe times of phrenzy will return, and ye will maſſacre each other again.

You are proud of your knowledge; but of what uſe is it to you; or of what ſervice would it be to the Hottentots? Is it then of ſo much importance to know how to ſpeak of virtue without practiſing it? What obligation would the ſavage have to you when you have made him acquainted with arts, without which he is contented; with branches of induſtry, which can only ſerve to multiply his wants and his labours; or with laws from which he cannot expect greater ſecurity than you yourſelves enjoy?

If, however, when you had landed upon theſe ſhores, your deſign had been to lead the Hottentot into a more civilized kind of life, or to inſtill manners into him which you thought preferable to your own, there would be ſome excuſe for you.

But

But you have made a deſcent upon his country merely to deprive him of it. You have come near to his hut with the only view of driving him out of it; or if it were in your power of putting him in the place of the animal who ploughs the ground under the laſh of the farmer's whip: your only intention has been to reduce him ſtill nearer to the condition of a brute, and to ſatisfy your avarice.

FLY, unhappy Hottentots, fly! and hide yourſelves in the depths of your foreſts! the wild beaſts that inhabit them are leſs formidable than the monſters under whoſe empire you are going to fall. The tyger may perhaps tear you in pieces, but he will take nothing but your life away. The others will rob you of your innocence and of your liberty. Or, if you feel yourſelves animated with a ſufficient ſhare of courage, take up your axes, bend your bows, and ſend a ſhower of poiſoned darts againſt theſe ſtrangers. May there not be one of them remaining to convey to his countrymen the news of their diſaſter!

BUT alas! you harbour no miſtruſt, and do not know them; for mildneſs appears in their countenances. Their behaviour beſpeaks an affability which will impoſe upon you. How indeed ſhould you not be deceived by it, ſince it is a ſnare to themſelves? Truth ſeems to dwell upon their lips. When they addreſs you they will bend the body, and keep one hand upon their breaſts, while they extend the other towards heaven, or offer it to you in token of amity. Their attitude will be that of benevolence; their look that of

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humanity: but cruelty and treachery reign in the bottom of their hearts. They will overturn your huts; they will ſeize upon your cattle; they will corrupt your wives; they will ſeduce your daughters. You muſt either agree with their extravagant opinions, or they will maſſacre you without mercy; for they believe that the man who does not think as they do, is unworthy to live. Make haſte, therefore, and lay yourſelves in ambuſh for them; and when they ſhall bend before you in a ſuppliant and perfidious manner, pierce them to the heart. You are not to addreſs them with repreſentations of juſtice, which they will not liſten to; but you muſt ſpeak to them with your arrows; for Riebeck approaches, and now is the time. This man will not, perhaps, do you all the miſchief which I announce; but this feigned moderation will not be imitated by his ſucceſſors. And you, barbarous Europeans, be not incenſed at this harangue. It will neither be heard by the Hottentot, nor by the inhabitant of thoſe regions which ſtill remain for you to lay waſte. If you ſhould be offended at my words, it is becauſe you are not more humane than your predeceſſors; it is becauſe you perceive in the hatred I have avowed againſt them that which I entertain againſt you.

Riebeck, in conformity to the notions unhappily prevailing among the Europeans, began to take poſſeſſion of the moſt commodious part of the territory; and thought afterwards of fixing himſelf there. This behaviour diſpleaſed the natives. *On what pretence,* ſaid their envoy to theſe ſtrangers, *have*

have you ſown our lands? Why do you employ them to feed your cattle? How would you behave if you ſaw your own fields invaded in this manner? You fortify yourſelves with no other view than to reduce the Hottentots to ſlavery. Theſe remonſtrances were followed by ſome hoſtilities. The Dutch, who were not yet ſufficiently powerful, quieted the natives with many promiſes, and a few preſents. All was pacified; and they afterwards enjoyed their uſurpation with tranquillity.

It has been proved that the company expended, in the courſe of twenty years, forty-ſix thouſand millions of livres * in raiſing the colony to its preſent ſtate.

It is the fineſt ſettlement in the world, if we give credit to the teſtimony of moſt ſeamen, who, after the fatigues of a long voyage, are eaſily ſeduced by the convenience they find in this celebrated harbour, where they put in for refreſhment. Let us examine whether reflection will confirm theſe encomiums dictated by enthuſiaſm.

The Cape of Good Hope, the latitudes of which are ſo ſtormy, terminates the moſt ſouthern point of Africa. At the diſtance of ſixteen leagues from this famous mountain there is a peninſula formed on the north-ſide by Table-Bay, and on the ſouth by Falſe-Bay. It is at the firſt of theſe bays, which are only ſeparated from each other by an interval of nine thouſand toiſes, that all the ſhips put in during the greateſt part of the year: but from the 20th of May to the 20th of September,

* 1,916,666l. 13s. 4d.

the

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the road is so dangerous, and so many misfortunes have happened in it, that the Dutch vessels are forbidden to anchor there. They all go to the other bay, which is entirely free from danger during this season of the year.

The sky of the Cape would be very agreeable, if the winds there were not almost always continual, and commonly violent. The kind of inconvenience arising from this circumstance is removed by the delicious temperature which these winds bring on, in a climate which, considering its latitude, should be intolerably hot. The air of this country is so pure, that it is considered as an almost sovereign remedy against most of the diseases brought from Europe, and not unserviceable against those contracted in India. The inhabitants are subject to few infirmities. It was even a long while before the small-pox made its way into this country. This epidemic disease, which is said to have been brought by a Danish vessel, made great ravages at first, which are still renewed at intervals.

The soil in this settlement is not so good as it has been reported to be. The Dutch, on their arrival, found nothing but immense heaths, some shrubs, and a kind of onion, which, when roasted, tastes like a chesnut, and has been called the bread of the Hottentots. Wherever the periodical fall of these plants had not deposited a thick sediment, the earth was no more than a barren sand. All attempts to make it fruitful have not been attended with success, even in the vicinity of the capital, where every encouragement has been given to them. If we except a few vallies,

into

into which the waters have drawn down the little quantity of earth that covered the mountains, the inland parts of the country are not more fertile, and there is ſtill leſs water to be found there than on the coaſts, where a rivulet or a ſpring are rarely to be met with. From hence it happens, that although the colony be not numerous, yet the inhabitants are ſcattered over an extent of one hundred and fifty leagues along the ſea coaſt, and of near fifty leagues up the country.

THE town of the Cape, the only one which is in the colony, conſiſts of about a thouſand houſes, all built of brick, and thatched, on account of the violence of the winds. The ſtreets are wide, interſecting each other at right angles, and in the principal ſtreet there is a canal, with a row of trees planted on each ſide of it. In a more ſequeſtered part of the town there is another canal, but it has ſo great a degree of obliquity, that the ſluices almoſt touch each other.

AT the extremity of the city is the ſo much celebrated garden of the company, which is from eight to nine hundred toiſes in length, and is watered by a ſtream. To protect the plants in it againſt the winds, each plot has been ſurrounded with oaks cut in the form of paliſades, except in the centre avenue, where they are allowed to grow to their full height. Theſe trees, though only of a moderate ſize, form a delightful view in a country where little wood, even underwood, is to be ſeen, and where the people are obliged to bring all their timber from Batavia. The greateſt part of the garden is filled with vegetables. In the

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the ſmall ſpot dedicated to botanic purpoſes there are but few plants. The menagerie adjoining to the garden is equally defective: it formerly contained a great number of birds and quadrupeds unknown in our climates.

THE country places bordering on the capital are chiefly covered with vines, the produce of which is almoſt certain in a climate where neither hail nor froſt are to be apprehended. It ſhould ſeem, that under a ſerene ſky, and in a ſandy ſoil, with the facility of chooſing the beſt aſpects, a moſt exquiſite kind of wine ought to be obtained. But whether it be owen to the fault of the climate, or the neglect of the cultivators, the wine here is of a very inferior quality, if we except a dry, ſharp, and agreeable kind of wine that comes originally from Madeira, and is conſumed by the richeſt of the inhabitants. That ſort which is known in Europe by the name of Conſtantia, and of which there is ſome white and ſome red, is only collected from a territory of fifteen acres, and furniſhed by vines formerly brought from Perſia. To increaſe the quantity, it is mixed with a tolerable good kind of Muſcadine wine that is produced from neighbouring vineyards. Part of it is given up to the company at a price fixed by themſelves; the reſt is ſold to any perſon who offers to purchaſe, at twelve hundred livres * the hogſhead.

CORN is cultivated at a greater diſtance from the Cape. It is always plentiful and at a mode-

* 50l.

rate

rate price, on account of the facility of preparing the ſoil, the quantity of manure, and the cuſtom of leaving the land quiet.

AT forty or fifty leagues from the harbour no more cultivation is to be ſeen. At a greater diſtance than this it would not be poſſible to convey the proviſions with advantage. Here the country is covered only with numerous flocks, which are brought up to the capital of the colony two or three times a year. They are exchanged for ſome merchandize, either of primary neceſſity or merely articles of luxury brought from Europe and the Indies. The peaceful inhabitants of theſe ſequeſtered regions are but little acquainted with the uſe of bread, and generally feed upon freſh or ſalt meats, together with ſome vegetables, which are as well flavoured at this extremity of Africa as in our countries. Our fruits, which for the moſt part have not degenerated, are another reſource to them. They derive leſs advantage from the vegetables of Aſia, which do not ſucceed there; and ſome of which, even ſuch as ſugar and coffee, it has never been poſſible to naturalize.

WHEN the company formed their ſettlement at the Cape, they aſſigned gratuitouſly to each of the firſt coloniſts a portion of land of one league ſquare. Theſe grants, and others which were afterwards made, have ſince been loaded with a tax at every change of proprietor.

THIS innovation is not the only thing the coloniſts have to reproach the mother-country with; they alſo complain of the low price it fixes upon proviſions which it requires for its own uſe; and

of

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of the reſtraints with which it impedes the ſale of thoſe productions which it does not keep. They complain of the fees granted to ſeveral officers upon every commodity ſold in the country or exported. They complain of their being prohibited from fitting out the leaſt veſſel for the purpoſe of keeping up a communication among themſelves, or of going to fetch from the neighbouring coaſts thoſe woods with which nature has not ſupplied them. They complain of their being reduced by a number of formalities, as multiplied as they are uſeleſs, to the neceſſity of borrowing the money they want for the increaſe of their plantations, at a moſt exorbitant intereſt. They complain, that being moſt of them Lutherans, they are not allowed to procure the comforts of religion for themſelves, at their own expence. In a word, they make a variety of other complaints; which are all upon matters of conſequence, and the greateſt part of which appear to be well founded.

THESE grievances ought the more ſpeedily to be redreſſed, the more reſpectable the coloniſts are. Their manners are ſimple, even in the capital. No kind of public diverſion is known there; no gaming is practiſed; viſits are but ſeldom made; and the people talk but little. The women delight only in contributing to the happineſs of their huſbands, their children, their ſervants, and even their ſlaves.

WHILE they devote their time to theſe tender cares, the huſbands are entirely taken up with their buſineſs abroad. In the evening, when the high

high winds have ſubſided, the whole family together go to take the exerciſe of a walk, and to breathe the freſh air. The life of one day is that of the whole week; and yet this uniformity is not found to ſubſtract from their happineſs.

THERE is one trait worthy of obſervation in the manners of this colony, and this is, that the moſt charming inſtance of the candour of the primitive ages is revived here. When a young woman forms an attachment, ſhe ſoon makes a fair avowal of the delightful impreſſion. Love, ſhe ſays, is a natural paſſion, which is to make the pleaſure of her life, and indemnify her for the dangers of being a mother. The man who has had the happineſs to ſecure her affections is publicly favoured, if his ſentiments correſpond with thoſe which he has inſpired. In theſe ſacred and voluntary ties, which have not been formed by motives of ambition, avarice, or vanity, confidence and tenderneſs are united; and theſe two ſentiments in ſimple, calm, and ſteady minds, produce an union which is very ſeldom affected by any ſeries of years or of events.

THE colony, which has no more than ſeven hundred regular troops for its defence, computes among its inhabitants fifteen thouſand Europeans, Dutch, Germans, and French, the fourth part of which is able to bear arms. This number would have been increaſed, if ſome fatal prejudices of religion had not diſcouraged a multitude of unfortunate perſons, who were diſpoſed to go in ſearch of eaſe and plenty in theſe happy climates. It is not to be conceived, that a republic

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which has admitted with ſo much ſucceſs all kinds of religious worſhip into its provinces, ſhould have ſuffered a company, formed within its own dominions, to convey this odious ſpirit of intoleration acroſs the ſeas. If the government ever has the reſolution to ſuppreſs an abuſe ſo contrary to its own principles, the colony will be peopled in proportion to the means of ſubſiſtence it affords; and in that caſe the yoke of ſlavery may be aboliſhed without inconvenience, which, though it be leſs oppreſſive here than any where elſe, is ſtill a degradation of the human ſpecies.

THE ſlaves are forty or fifty thouſand in number. Some of them have been purchaſed on the coaſt of Africa or at Madagaſcar, others come from the Malays iſlands. They have the ſame food as their maſters, and are employed in the ſame labours. Of all the European ſettlements made in other parts of the world, this is perhaps the only one, where the white men have condeſcended to ſhare with the negroes the happy, noble, and virtuous occupations of peaceful agriculture.

IF the Hottentots could have adopted this kind of taſte it would have been a very advantageous circumſtance to the colony: but the ſmall herds of theſe Africans that had remained within the boundaries of the Dutch ſettlements were all deſtroyed in the year 1713 by an epidemic diſeaſe. There were but very few families who eſcaped the dreadful effects of this contagious diſtemper, and theſe are of ſome uſe for the keeping of the flocks, and for domeſtic ſervices. The more powerful clans,

clans, which dwelt on the borders of the rivers, in the neighbourhood of the foreſts, or on lands abounding with paſture, having been obliged ſucceſſively to abandon the tombs and dwellings of their anceſtors, have all removed at a diſtance from the frontiers of their oppreſſors. The injuſtice they have experienced has contributed greatly to increaſe the averſion they had for our labours. Theſe ſavages find an inexpreſſible charm in the indolent and independent life they lead in their deſerts. Nothing can wean them from it. One of their children was taken from the cradle, and inſtructed in our manners and religion; he was ſent to India, and uſefully employed in trade. Happening by accident to reviſit his country, he went to ſee his relations in their hut. He was ſtruck with the ſingularity that appeared there, he clothed himſelf with a ſheep-ſkin, and went to the fort to carry back his European dreſs. *I am come*, ſaid he to the governor, *to renounce for ever the mode of life you have taught me to embrace. I am reſolved to follow, till death, the manners and religion of my anceſtors. As a token of my affection I will keep the collar and ſword you have given me: all the reſt you will permit me to leave behind.* He did not wait for an anſwer, but ran away, and was never heard of after.

THOUGH the character of the Hottentots be not ſuch as the avarice of the Dutch could wiſh, yet the company derive ſolid advantages from this colony. Indeed the tenth part of the corn and wine, together with their cuſtoms and other duties, does not bring them in more than three hun-

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dred thouſand livres *. They do not gain more than one hundred thouſand † by their woollen and linen cloths, their hardware, their coals, and other inconſiderable articles they ſell there. The expences neceſſarily attending ſo large a ſettlement, added to thoſe which corruption has introduced, take up more than all thoſe profits united. Accordingly, its utility ariſes from another cauſe.

THE Dutch ſhips that ſail to and from India find a ſafe aſylum at the Cape; a delightful, ſerene, and temperate ſky; and learn every thing of importance that happens in both hemiſpheres. Here they take in butter, cheeſe, meal, wine, large quantities of pickled vegetables for their Aſiatic ſettlements, and for ſome time paſt even two or three cargoes of corn for Europe. Theſe conveniencies and reſources would ſtill be augmented, if the company would at length lay aſide thoſe fatal prejudices, with which it has always been miſled.

TILL our days the productions of the Cape have borne ſo low a price, that the planters were not able to clothe themſelves, nor to provide themſelves with any of thoſe neceſſaries which their ſoil did not ſupply. This depreciation of the proviſions aroſe from the coloniſts being forbidden to ſell them to foreign navigators, whom the convenience of their ſituation, the neceſſities of war, or other reaſons, might attract to their ports. But a ſpirit of jealouſy in trade, which is one of the greateſt evils that can befal mankind, had given riſe to this barbarous prohibition. The

* 12,500l. † 4,166l. 13s. 4d.

deſign

deſign of this odious ſyſtem was to inſpire other commercial nations with a diſguſt for India. There was no relief to be expected but from government; and the adminiſtration, in order not to depart from its plan, always rated them at an exceſſive price. Even ſince the experience of a whole century has occaſioned theſe chimerical views to be relinquiſhed, and that the hope of keeping other people away from Aſia has been given up, the inhabitants of the Cape have not been allowed a free trade with reſpect to all their proviſions. Tulbagh, indeed, and ſome other enlightened governors, have given way upon this point, which has contributed to make the circumſtances of the people ſomewhat eaſier: but it has always been neceſſary either to bribe the mother-country into a compliance with theſe permiſſions, or to keep them a ſecret. Will the company then never be convinced that the riches of the coloniſts will ſome time or other become their own? If they ſhould adopt the ideas I have ventured to ſuggeſt to them, they will imitate the ſpirit of their founders, who did nothing by chance; and who did not wait for the happy events we have been mentioning, to turn their attention towards the finding out of a place fit to ſerve as the centre of their power. For this purpoſe they had caſt their eyes upon Java as early as the year 1609.

Dominions of the Dutch in the iſland of Java.

THIS iſland, which may be about two hundred leagues in length, and thirty or forty in breadth, appeared to have been conquered by the Malays at a diſtant period. A very ſuperſtitious ſpecies of Mohammediſm conſtituted the prevailing worſhip.

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Some idolaters were ſtill remaining in the interior parts of the country; and theſe were the only inhabitants of Java that were not arrived at the laſt ſtage of depravity. The iſland, which was formerly under the dominion of a ſingle monarch, was at that time divided among ſeveral ſovereigns, who were perpetually at war with each other. Theſe eternal diſſentions, while they kept up a military ſpirit among the people, occaſioned a total neglect of manners. From their enmity to ſtrangers, and want of confidence among themſelves, it was evident that no nation could have ever been more ſtrongly impreſſed with the ſentiment of hatred. Here men were wolves to each other, and ſeemed to unite in ſociety more for the ſake of committing mutual injuries than of affording mutual aſſiſtance. A Javaneſe never accoſted his brother without having a poniard in his hand; ever watchful to prevent, or ready to perpetrate ſome act of violence. The nobles had a great number of ſlaves, either bought, taken in war, or detained for debt, whom they treated with the utmoſt inhumanity. Theſe ſlaves were employed in cultivating the lands, and performing all kinds of hard labour; while the Javaneſe was amuſing himſelf with chewing betel, ſmoking opium, paſſing his life with his concubines, fighting or ſleeping. Theſe people poſſeſſed a conſiderable ſhare of underſtanding, but retained few traces of any principles of morality. They had not ſo much the character of an unenlightened as of a degenerated nation: in a word, they were a ſet of men who, from a regular form of government, had fallen into

into a kind of anarchy; and gave themſelves up without reſtraint to the impetuous emotions which nature excites in theſe climates.

THIS depraved character of the inhabitants did not alter the views of the Dutch with reſpect to Java. Their company might indeed be thwarted by the Engliſh, who were then in poſſeſſion of a part of the trade of this iſland. But this obſtacle was ſoon removed. The weakneſs of James the Firſt, and the corruption of his council, had ſo damped the ſpirits of theſe haughty Britons, that they ſuffered themſelves to be ſupplanted, without making thoſe efforts that might have been expected from their bravery. The natives of the country, deprived of this ſupport, were forced to ſubmit; but it required time, addreſs, and policy, to complete the conqueſt of them.

IT had been one of the fundamental maxims of the Portugueſe, to perſuade thoſe princes they wanted to engage or retain in a ſtate of dependence, to ſend their children to Goa to be educated at the expence of the court of Liſbon, and initiated early into its manners and principles. But this, which was in itſelf a good project, was ſpoiled by the conquerors, who admitted theſe young people to a participation of the moſt criminal pleaſures, and the moſt ſhameful ſcenes of debauchery. The conſequence was, that when theſe Indians arrived at the age of maturity, they could not help deteſting, or at leaſt deſpiſing ſuch abandoned inſtructors. The Dutch adopted the ſame plan, and improved upon it. They endeavoured to convince their pupils of the weak-

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neſs, inconſtancy, and treachery of their ſubjects; and ſtill more of the power, wiſdom, and good faith of the company. By this method they ſtrengthened their uſurpations: but we are obliged to acknowledge that beſide theſe means the Dutch had recourſe to others which were treacherous and cruel.

THE government of the iſland, which was founded entirely on the feudal laws, ſeemed calculated to promote diſcord. Fathers and ſons turned their arms againſt each other. They ſupported the pretenſions of the weak againſt the powerful, and of the powerful againſt the weak, as they ſaw occaſion. Sometimes they took the monarch's part, and ſometimes that of his vaſſals. If any perſon aſcended the throne, who was likely to become formidable by his talents, they raiſed up rivals to oppoſe him. Thoſe who were not to be ſeduced by gold or promiſes were ſubdued by fear. Every day was productive of ſome revolution which was always begun by the intrigues of the tyrants, and always ended to their advantage. At length they became maſters of the moſt important poſts in the inland parts of the country; and of the forts that were built upon the coaſts.

THIS plan of uſurpation was but juſt ready to be carried into execution when a governor was appointed at Java, who had a palace and guards, and appeared in great pomp. The company thought proper to depart from the principles of œconomy they had hitherto adopted; from a perſuaſion that the Portugueſe had derived a great advantage from the brilliant court kept by the viceroy

viceroy of Goa: that the people of the Eaſt were to be dazzled in order to be the more eaſily ſubdued: and that it was neceſſary to ſtrike the imagination and the eyes of the Indians, who are guided more by their ſenſes than the inhabitants of our climates.

THE Dutch had another reaſon for aſſuming an air of dignity. They had been repreſented in Aſia as pirates, without a country, without laws, and without a ruler. To ſilence theſe calumnies, they endeavoured to prevail with ſeveral ſtates adjoining to Java to ſend ambaſſadors to prince Maurice of the houſe of Orange.

THE execution of this project procured them a double advantage, as at the ſame time that it increaſed their conſequence with the Eaſtern nations, it alſo flattered the ambition of the Stadtholder, whoſe protection was neceſſary to be obtained, for reaſons which we are going to explain.

WHEN the company obtained their excluſive privilege, the Straits of Magellan, which could have no connection with the Eaſt Indies, were improperly enough included in the grant. Iſaac Lemaire, one of thoſe rich and enterprizing merchants, who ought every where to be conſidered as the benefactors of their country, formed the project of penetrating into the South Sea by the ſouthern coaſts; ſince he was precluded by the only track that was known at that time, from going there. In the year 1615, he fitted out two ſhips which paſſed a ſtrait, ſince called by his name, running between Cape Horn and Staten

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land; and were driven by accident to the coaſt of Java, where they were condemned, and the crew ſent priſoners to Europe.

THIS tyrannical proceeding gave offence to the people, already prejudiced againſt an excluſive commerce. It was thought abſurd, that inſtead of giving thoſe who attempted diſcoveries the encouragement they deſerved, a ſtate purely commercial ſhould forge ſhackles to confine their induſtry. The monopoly, which the avarice of individuals had endured with impatience, became more odious, when the company ſtretched the conceſſions that had been made them beyond their due bounds. It was found, that as their pride and influence increaſed with their power, the intereſt of the nation would at length be ſacrificed to the intereſt, or even to the caprice of this formidable body. It is probable that they muſt have ſunk under the public reſentment; and that their charter, which was near expiring, would not have been renewed, if they had not been ſupported by prince Maurice, favoured by the States-general, and encouraged to brave the ſtorm by the ſtrength they derived from their ſettlement at Java.

THOUGH the tranquillity of this iſland may have been diſturbed by various commotions, ſeveral wars, and ſome conſpiracies, it continues to be as much in ſubjection to the Dutch as they wiſh it to be.

BANTAM comprehends the weſtern part. One of its ſovereigns having reſigned the crown to his ſon, was reſtored to the throne in 1680 by the natural

tural reſtleſſneſs of his temper, the bad conduct of his ſucceſſor, and a powerful faction. His party was on the point of prevailing, when the young monarch, beſieged in his capital by an army of thirty thouſand men, without any adherents, except the companions of his debaucheries, implored the protection of the Dutch. They flew to his aſſiſtance, beat his enemies, delivered him from his rival, and re-eſtabliſhed his authority. Though the expedition was ſpeedy, ſhort, and rapid, and conſequently could not be expenſive; it was contrived to make the charges of the war amount to a prodigious ſum. The ſituation of things would not admit of a ſcrutiny into the ſum demanded for ſo great a ſervice, and the exhauſted ſtate of the finances made it impoſſible to diſcharge it. In this dilemma this weak prince determined to entail ſlavery on himſelf and his deſcendants, by granting to his deliverers the excluſive trade of his dominions.

THE company maintain this great privilege with three hundred and ſixty-eight men, who are ſtationed in two bad forts, one of which ſerves as a habitation for the governor, and the other as a palace for the king. The expences of this ſettlement amount to no more than 110,000 livres *, which are regained upon the merchandize ſold there. Their clear profits conſiſt of what they gain upon three millions weight of pepper, which they oblige the inhabitants to ſell at twenty-eight livres three ſols † a hundred.

* 4,583l. 6s. 8d.

† 11. 3s. 5½d.

THESE

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THESE profits are inconſiderable in compariſon of what the company receives from Cheribon, which it ſubdued without any efforts, without intrigues, and without expence. The Dutch were ſcarce ſettled at Java, when the ſultan of this narrow but very fertile ſtate put himſelf under their protection, to avoid ſubmitting to a neighbouring prince more powerful than himſelf. He ſells them annually three millions three hundred thouſand pounds weight of rice, at twenty-five livres twelve ſols * per thouſand; ſugar, the fineſt of which coſts fifteen livres ſix ſols eight deniers † a hundred; one million two hundred thouſand pounds of coffee, at four ſols four deniers ‡ a pound; one hundred quintals of pepper, at five ſols two deniers § a pound; thirty thouſand pounds weight of cotton, the fineſt of which coſts only one livre eleven ſols four deniers ‖ a pound; and ſix hundred thouſand pounds of areca, at thirteen livres four ſols ** the hundred. Although the fixing of theſe prices at ſo low a rate be a manifeſt impoſition upon the weakneſs of the inhabitants, the people of Cheribon, who are the moſt gentle and civilized of any in the iſland, have never been provoked by this injuſtice to take up arms. A hundred Europeans are ſufficient to keep them in ſubjection. The expences of this ſettlement amount to no more than 45,100 livres ††, which are gained upon the linens imported there.

* 1 l. 4 s. 4 d. † About 12 s. 9½ d. ‡ About 2¼ d. § Rather more than 2½ d. ‖ About 1 s. 3¾ d. ** 11 s. †† 1,879 l. 3 s. 4 d.

THE empire of Mataram, which formerly extended over the whole iſland, and at preſent takes up the greateſt part of it, was the laſt that was reduced to ſubjection. Often vanquiſhed, and ſometimes vanquiſhing, it continued its ſtruggles for independency, when the ſon and brother of a ſovereign who died in 1704, diſputed the ſucceſſion. The nation was divided between the two rivals; and the one who was intitled to the crown by order of ſucceſſion, had ſo viſibly the advantage, that he muſt ſoon have got the ſupreme power entirely into his hands, if the Dutch had not declared in favour of his rival. The party eſpouſed by theſe republicans at length prevailed, after a ſeries of conteſts, more active, frequent, well-conducted, and obſtinate, than could have been expected. The young prince, whom they wanted to deprive of his ſucceſſion to the king his father, diſplayed ſo much intrepidity, prudence, and firmneſs, that he would have triumphed over his enemies, had it not been for the advantage they derived from their magazines, forts, and ſhips. His uncle uſurped his throne; but ſhewed himſelf unworthy to fill it.

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WHEN the company reſtored him to the crown, they dictated laws to him. They choſe the place where his court was to be fixed, and ſecured his attachment by a citadel in which a guard was maintained, with no other apparent view than to protect the prince. After all theſe precautions, they employed every artifice to lull his attention by pleaſures, to gratify his avarice by preſents, and to flatter his vanity by pompous embaſſies.

From

BOOK II.

From this period, the prince and his ſucceſſors, who were educated ſuitably to the part they were to act, were nothing more than the deſpicable tools of the deſpotiſm of the company. All that is neceſſary for the ſupport of this power, is three hundred horſe and four hundred foot ſoldiers, whoſe maintenance, including the pay of the agents, coſts them 835,000 livres *.

THE company are amply indemnified for this expence by the advantages it ſecures to them. The harbours of this ſtate afford docks for the conſtruction of all the ſmall veſſels and ſloops employed in the company's ſervice. They are ſupplied from hence with all the timber that is wanted in their ſeveral Indian ſettlements, and in part of their foreign colonies. Here too they load their veſſels with the productions which the kingdom is obliged to furniſh them; conſiſting of fifteen millions weight of rice, at ſeventeen livres twelve ſols † the thouſand; as much ſalt as they require, at ten livres ſeven ſols ten deniers ‡ a thouſand; a hundred thouſand pounds of pepper, at twenty-one livres two ſols four deniers § a hundred; all the indigo that is collected, at three livres two ſols ‖ a pound; cadjang, for the uſe of their ſhips, at twenty-eight livres, three ſols, two deniers ** the thouſand; cotton yarn, from thirteen ſols, to one livre thirteen ſols †† a pound, according to its quality; and the ſmall quantity of cardamom that is produced there, at a ſhameful price.

* 34,791 l. 13 s. 4 d. † 14 s. 8 d. ‡ About 8 s. 8 d. § About 17 s. 7¼ d. ‖ 2 s. 8 d. ** Near 11 l. 3 s. 6 d. †† From about 7½ d. to 1 s. 5½ d.

THE

THE company, for a long time, diſdained to have any connections with Balambuan, ſituated at the eaſtern point of the iſland. There certainly appeared nothing that could lead them to think of reaping any advantage from this diſtrict. But whatever motive the Dutch may have had for it, they have lately attacked this country. After a ſeries of obſtinate engagements, and various ſucceſs, for the ſpace of two years, the European arms have at length prevailed, in 1768. The Indian prince, conquered and taken priſoner, has ended his days in the caſtle of Batavia; and his family have been embarked for the Cape of Good Hope; where they will terminate a wretched exiſtence in Robben, or Penguin iſland.

WE know not what uſe the conquerors have made of their conqueſt. Neither do we know what advantage they will derive from having dethroned the king of Madura, a fertile iſland adjoining to Mataram, in order to place his ſon there as governor. What we are unfortunately well acquainted with is, that, independent of the tyrannic ſway of the company, all the people of Java labour under a ſtill more odious kind of oppreſſion from their agents. Theſe greedy and diſhoneſt men, commonly make uſe of falſe weights and meaſures, in order to procure a larger quantity of goods, or proviſions, from the people that are to furniſh them. This fraud, practiſed for their own private advantage, has not hitherto been puniſhed; and there is no reaſon to hope that it ever will be.

FOR

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FOR the reſt, the Dutch having abated the turbulency of the Javaneſe, by gradually undermining the laws that maintained it; and ſatisfied with having forced them to give ſome attention to agriculture, and with having ſecured to themſelves a commerce perfectly excluſive, have not attempted to acquire any property in the iſland. Their territory extends no further than the ſmall kingdom of Jacatra. The ravages committed when this ſtate was conquered, and the tyranny that followed that conqueſt, had turned it into a deſert. It remained uncultivated and inactive.

THE Dutch, thoſe of them in particular who go to India to ſeek their fortunes, were little qualified to recover this excellent ſoil from its exhauſted ſtate. It was ſeveral times propoſed to have recourſe to the Germans; and by the encouragement of ſome advances, and ſome gratuities, to exerciſe their induſtry in a manner the moſt advantageous to the company. What theſe laborious people would have done in the fields, the ſilk manufacturers from China, and the linen-weavers from Coromandel might have executed in the workſhops, for the improvement of manufactures. As theſe uſeful projects did not favour any private views, they continued to be nothing more than projects. At length the governors-general Imhoff and Moſſel, ſtruck with a ſcene of ſuch great diſorder, endeavoured to find out a remedy.

WITH this view they ſold to the Chineſe and the Europeans, at a ſmall price, the lands which the

the government had acquired by oppreſſive means. This management has not produced all the good that was expected from it. The new proprietors have devoted moſt part of their land to the feeding of ſheep and cattle, for which they have an eaſy, free, and advantageous market. Their induſtry would have been engaged in more important objects, had not the company required, that all the productions ſhould be ceded to them at the ſame price as in the reſt of the iſland. The mother-country has reſtrained the cultivations to ten thouſand pounds weight of indigo, twenty-five thouſand pounds of cotton, one hundred and fifty thouſand pounds of pepper, ten millions weight of ſugar, and ſome other trifling articles.

THESE commodities, as well as all thoſe that are produced in Java, are carried to Batavia, which is built on the ruins of the antient capital of Jacatra, in the ſixth degree of ſouthern latitude.

A CITY which furniſhed ſo conſiderable a ſtaple, muſt have received many ſucceſſive embelliſhments. Nevertheleſs, if we except one church recently built, there is no kind of elegance or grandeur in any of the edifices. The public buildings are in general heavy, and have neither beauty nor proportion. If the houſes be convenient, and diſtributed in a manner ſuitable to the nature of the climate, the fronts of them are too uniform, and built in a bad taſte. There is no part of the world where the ſtreets are more wide, or more regularly cut. They afford the foot-paſſengers,

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paſſengers, in every part of the town, a clean and firm pavement to walk upon. Moſt of them are interſected with canals, bordered on each ſide by ſtately trees, which ſpread a delightful ſhade; and theſe canals, which are all navigable, convey the proviſions and merchandize to the magazines deſtined for their reception. Although the heat, which ſhould naturally be exceſſive at Batavia, be allayed by a very agreeable ſea-breeze, which riſes every day at ten o'clock, and continues till four; and although the nights be cooled by land-breezes, which die away at day-break; yet the air is extremely unwholeſome in this capital of the Dutch Eaſt Indies, and becomes daily more ſo. It is proved by regiſters of indiſputable authority, that from the year 1714 to 1776, fourſcore and ſeven thouſand ſailors and ſoldiers have periſhed in the hoſpital only. We meet with ſcarce one among the inhabitants whoſe countenance bears the marks of perfect health. The features are never animated with lively colours. Beauty, which commands adoration ſo much in all other parts of the world, is here without motion, and lifeleſs. Death is talked of with as much indifference as in an army. If it be ſaid that a citizen who was in good health exiſts no more, no ſurpriſe is expreſſed at ſo ordinary an event. Avarice ſays no more than this: *he owed me nothing*; or elſe, *I muſt make his heirs pay me.*

We ſhall not be ſurpriſed at this defect of the climate, if we conſider, that for the convenience of navigation, Batavia has been fixed upon the borders

borders of a ſea, which is the moſt ſalt of any in the world; in the midſt of a marſhy plain which is frequently overflowed; and along a great number of canals full of ſtagnated waters, covered with the filth of an immenſe city, and ſurrounded by great trees, which impede the free circulation of the air, and prevent the diſperſion of the fetid vapours that ariſe from them.

In order to leſſen the danger and loathſomeneſs of theſe infectious exhalations, the inhabitants burn inceſſantly aromatic woods and reſins; they intoxicate themſelves with ſcents; and fill their apartments with numberleſs flowers, moſt of which are unknown in our climates. Even the bed-chambers are perfumed with the moſt delicate and pureſt eſſences. Theſe precautions are uſed even in the country places, where all the fields and all the gardens are ſurrounded with ſtagnant and unwholeſome waters; and yet they are not ſufficient to preſerve, much leſs to reſtore health. Accordingly, rich people have houſes built upon very high mountains, which terminate the plain, where they go ſeveral times in the year to breathe a freſh and ſalutary air. Notwithſtanding the volcanos that are ſeen conſtantly ſmoking on the tops of theſe mountains, and which occaſion frequent earthquakes, the ſick perſons ſoon recover their ſtrength, but loſe it again on their return to Batavia.

Notwithstanding this, the population in this celebrated city is immenſe. Beſide the hundred and fifty thouſand ſlaves, diſperſed over an extenſive territory, devoted to agriculture, or labour-

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ing upon objects of mere ornament, there are several more employed in the town itself, and in domestic services. These were originally independent men, most of whom have been carried off by force or artifice from the Moluccas, from Celebes, and from other islands. This atrocious act has filled their hearts with sentiments of rage, and they never give up the desire of poisoning or assassinating their barbarous masters.

The free Indians are less exasperated; and are to be found there from all the countries situated to the east of Asia. Each of these people preserve the kind of physiognomy that is peculiar to them; their colour, their dress, their customs, their mode of worship, and their industry: and they have each of them a chief, who is watchful over their interests, and terminates all differences subversive of public tranquillity. To keep such a variety of nations in order, and which are so much in enmity with each other, some abominable laws have been made, which are carried into execution with merciless severity. These laws lose their force only against the Europeans, who are seldom punished, and scarce ever with capital punishments.

Among these several nations the Chinese deserve our particular attention. For a long time past they had resorted in multitudes to Batavia, where they had amassed immense riches; till, in 1740, being suspected or accused of meditating projects fatal to the government, a horrid massacre was made of them, either with a view of punishing them, or of appropriating their riches. As these Chinese

Chineſe who quit their country are the meaneſt of all the ſubjects of that celebrated empire, this unjuſt and unmerited treatment, has not withdrawn them from a ſettlement where there are ſuch conſiderable profits to be made; and it is reckoned that there are about two hundred thouſand of them ſtill remaining in the colony. They follow there, almoſt excluſively, every branch of induſtry. They are the only good cultivators, and ſuperintend all the manufactures. Although they are ſo publicly and ſo extenſively uſeful, they are ſtill ſubjected to a heavy poll-tax, and to other tributes ſtill more humiliating. A flag fixed upon an eminence is the ſignal that gives them notice every month of the obligations they have to fulfil. If they neglect any one of them, a conſiderable fine is the leaſt of the penalties inflicted upon them.

THERE may be about ten thouſand white men in the city. Four thouſand of theſe, who are born in India, have degenerated to an inconceivable degree. This degradation is chiefly to be attributed to the cuſtom generally received of leaving the care of their education to ſlaves.

NOTWITHSTANDING the prodigious quantity of inſects, more loathſome than dangerous, with which the country is covered, moſt of theſe white men lead a delicious life, at leaſt in appearance. Pleaſures of all kinds ſucceed each other, with a degree of rapidity which it is not eaſy to follow. Beſide what can be furniſhed towards gratifying the delicacy of the palate, from a ſoil abounding in productions of its own, or which art has natu-

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ralized, the tables are alſo profuſely ſpread with every thing moſt ſcarce and exquiſite that Europe and Aſia can ſupply. The moſt coſtly wines are prodigally laviſhed. Even the waters of the iſland, which are reckoned, not without reaſon, unwholeſome and diſagreeable, are replaced by the Seltzer waters, brought at a conſiderable expence from the furtheſt part of Germany.

A SPIRIT of diſſipation ſo univerſally prevailing among a people who in other parts of the world are found ſo frugal and laborious, ſeems to announce a boundleſs degree of corruption; yet there is ſcarce more freedom of manners at Batavia than in the other eſtabliſhments formed by the Europeans in the Eaſt Indies. Perhaps even the ties of marriage are held in greater reſpect here than elſewhere. None but unmarried men allow themſelves to keep concubines, who are moſt frequently ſlaves. The prieſts have endeavoured to ſtop the progreſs of theſe connections, which are always ſecret, by refuſing to baptiſe the children that ſpring from them; but they are become leſs rigid, ſince a carpenter belonging to the Company, who choſe his ſon ſhould be of ſome religion or other, took the reſolution to have him circumciſed.

LUXURY has maintained its ground ſtill more ſucceſsfully than concubinage. The ladies, who are univerſally ambitious of diſtinguiſhing themſelves by the richneſs of their dreſs, and the magnificence of their equipage, have carried this taſte for parade to exceſs. They never appear in public

public without a numerous train of ſlaves; and are either drawn in magnificent cars, or are carried in ſuperb palanquins. In 1758 the company attempted to reſtrain their paſſion for jewels. Theſe regulations were received with contempt. It would, indeed, have been an extraordinary ſingularity, if the uſe of jewels had been diſcontinued in the country where they are produced; and if the merchants had ſucceeded in regulating at the Indies, a ſpecies of luxury which they bring from thence, with a view of diffuſing or increaſing it in this part of the world.

IT is in vain that the force and example of an European government are made to contend with the laws and manners of the climate of Aſia.

WE find, however, ſome traces of the character of the Dutch in the country places. It is impoſſible to ſee any thing more agreeable than the environs of Batavia. They are covered with neat, and agreeable villas; with kitchen gardens, filled with vegetables, much ſuperior to thoſe of our climates; with orchards, the various fruits of which have an exquiſite flavour; with groves that yield an agreeable ſhade; and with gardens finely ornamented, and even with taſte. It is the faſhion to reſide there conſtantly; and the people in office ſcarce ever go to the city, unleſs to tranſact public buſineſs.

THE roads leading to theſe delightful retreats are wide, ſmooth, eaſy, and bordered with trees, planted in a ſtrait line, and cut with regularity.

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BATAVIA is ſituated at the bottom of a deep bay, containing ſeveral iſlands of a middling ſize, which break the impetuoſity of the ſea. It is, properly ſpeaking, a road; but is as ſafe a retreat from all winds, and in all ſeaſons, as the beſt harbour. The ſhips which come in and go out from hence receive part of their cargoes, and get the neceſſary repairs at the ſmall iſland of Ornuſt, which is only at two leagues diſtance, and where docks and magazines are formed. Sixty years ago theſe veſſels came up the river which empties itſelf into the ſea, after having fertilized the lands and refreſhed the city. It is no longer acceſſible to any thing but boats, ſince a bank of mud has been formed at its mouth, which becomes every day more difficult to be got over. This is ſaid to be the conſequence of the practice adopted by all rich men, of turning the current of the river, in order that they may ſurround their country houſes with water. Whatever may be the cauſe of this misfortune, it is neceſſary to employ the moſt effectual means to remedy it. The importance of Batavia renders it well worth while to pay a ſerious attention to every thing that may contribute to the improvement and utility of its road; for it is the moſt conſiderable place in India.

ALL the veſſels ſent out by the company from Europe to Aſia touch at Batavia; except thoſe which go directly to Ceylon, to Bengal, and to China. They are laden in return with the productions and merchandiſe ſupplied by Java; and with all thoſe that have been brought there from the different

different factories and markets, ſcattered throughout theſe rich coaſts, or over theſe immenſe ſeas. The Dutch ſettlements in the Eaſt are places which, on account of their ſituation, their proviſions, and their wants, keep up the moſt briſk and conſtant intercourſe with Batavia. Beſide the ſhips ſent by government, there are many private veſſels that arrive there. But theſe muſt be furniſhed with paſs-ports. Any of them that ſhould neglect this precaution, which was contrived to prevent fraudulent trade, would be ſeized by the ſloops that are continually cruiſing in theſe latitudes. When they arrive at the place of their deſtination they deliver to the company thoſe articles of lading which it has reſerved the excluſive trade of to itſelf, and diſpoſe of the reſt to whom they chooſe. The ſlave-trade conſtitutes one of the principal branches of the free commerce; it conſiſts annually of ſix thouſand of both ſexes. It is from this baſe and wretched ſet of women that the Chineſe chuſe their wives, whom they are not permitted to bring along with them, nor to ſend for from their country.

To theſe articles of importation may be added thoſe brought by a dozen of Chineſe junks from Emoy, Limpo, and Canton; with about two thouſand Chineſe on board, who come every year to Java in hopes of acquiring riches. The tea, the china, the raw ſilks, and the ſilk ſtuffs and cottons they bring there may amount to three millions of livres *. Tin and pepper are

* 125,000 l.

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given them in exchange, but clandeſtinely, becauſe private perſons are prohibited from trading in theſe articles. They alſo receive tripam, gathered on the borders of the ſea at the Moluccas; as likewiſe ſharks fins and ſtags pizzles: the virtues of which, whether real or imaginary, are unknown in our countries. Another article they get in exchange is thoſe birds neſts ſo much celebrated all over the Eaſt, which are found in ſeveral places, and chiefly on the coaſts of Cochin-China. Theſe neſts are of an oval ſhape, an inch high, three inches round, and weigh half an ounce. They are formed by a ſpecies of the ſwallow; its head, breaſt, and wings are of a fine blue, and its body milk white. Theſe birds make their neſts of the ſpawn of fiſh, or of a glutinous froth which the agitation of the ſea leaves upon the rocks, to which they are faſtened at the bottom and on the ſide. The taſte of them is naturally inſipid; but as they are thought to increaſe the paſſion for women, which prevails univerſally in theſe regions, art has endeavoured, and perhaps with ſucceſs, to render them agreeable to the palate by varieties of ſeaſoning.

BESIDE theſe productions, the Chineſe at Batavia receive alſo ſome ready money. This ſum is always increaſed by the remittances which their fellow-citizens ſettled at Java ſend to the families they have a regard for, and by the wealth, ſtill more conſiderable, which ſooner or later is amaſſed by thoſe, who, ſatisfied with the fortune they

they have made, return to their own country, of which they ſeldom loſe ſight.

THE Spaniards from the Philippine iſlands alſo frequent Batavia. Formerly they bought linens there. They take nothing at preſent from thence but cinnamon for their home conſumption, and for the purpoſe of ſupplying part of Mexico. They pay for this important article with gold, which is one of the productions of theſe ſame iſlands, and with the cochineal and piaſtres brought from Acapulco.

THE French ſeldom go to Batavia in peace time; although the want of ſubſiſtence has often induced them to go there in the courſe of the two laſt wars. They will be ſeen there leſs frequently, when the iſle of France and Madagaſcar ſhall have been put into a condition to ſupply their fleets and armies.

SOME of the Engliſh veſſels, which go directly from Europe to China, caſt anchor in this road, in order to ſell hardware, arms, wines, oils, and other leſs important articles, which all of them belong to the ſhips crews. Formerly, the Engliſh, who are employed in trading from one part of India to another, were alſo ſometimes ſeen to arrive there. The number of theſe is increaſed, ſince their equipments have been multiplied; and their trade is become more conſiderable. The articles they ſell are trifling, but the purchaſes they make are conſiderable. Their lading conſiſts chiefly of large quantities of arrack, an exquiſite kind of liquor, made with rice, melaſſes, and

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and cocoa tree wine, which after being fermented together, are diſtilled.

ALL the proviſions, and all the merchandiſe that come into, or go out of Batavia, pay five per cent; and theſe cuſtoms are farmed at one million nine hundred thouſand eight hundred livres *. This ſum would be more conſiderable, if the articles which belong to the company, or which are deſigned for them, were ſubject to the taxes; if the chief agents of this powerful body did not moſt commonly elude the payments; and if frauds were leſs frequent among all ranks of people. There is one branch of the revenue which cannot but aſtoniſh us; it is that ariſing from games of chance. The Chineſe pay annually three hundred and eighty-four thouſand livres † for the privilege of opening them to the public. Multitudes of perſons reſort to them from all quarters, with that degree of eagerneſs ſo ordinary in burning climates, where the paſſions know no reſtraint. There it is, that the greateſt part of men at their own diſpoſal go to bury their fortunes, and that all ſlaves go to ſquander what they have been able to purloin from the vigilance of their maſters. There are ſtill other taxes in this capital of the Dutch Eaſt Indies, but yet they are not ſufficient to cover the expences of this ſtaple, which amount almoſt regularly to ſix millions, ſix hundred thouſand livres ‡.

The manner of conducting the affairs of the Dutch company in India, and in Europe.

THE council which preſides over all the ſettlements formed by the company, is reſident at

* 79,200l. † 16,000l. ‡ 275,000l.

Batavia,

Batavia. It is compoſed of the governor of the Dutch Indies, of a director-general, or five judges, and of a ſmall number of aſſiſtants, who have no votes, and only ſupply the place of the deceaſed judges till their ſucceſſors are appointed.

THE power of nomination to theſe offices is veſted in the direction at home. They are open to all who have money, and to all who are related to, or protected by the governor-general. Upon his death, the director, and the judges, proviſionally appoint a ſucceſſor, who ſeldom fails to be confirmed in his appointment. If he were not, he would no more be admitted into the council; but would enjoy all the honours attached to the poſt he had filled during a temporary vacancy.

THE governor-general reports to the council the ſtate of affairs in the iſland of Java: and each judge, that of the province intruſted to his care. The director has the inſpection of the cheſt and magazines at Batavia, which ſupply the reſt of the ſettlements. All purchaſes and ſales are directed by him. His ſignature is indiſpenſably neceſſary in all commercial tranſactions.

THOUGH all points ought to be decided in the council by a majority of votes, yet the will of the governor-general is ſeldom contradicted. This influence is owen to the deference paid him by thoſe members who are indebted to him for their elevation, and to the neceſſity the others are under of courting his favour, in order that they may make their fortunes more rapidly. If on any occaſion

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occaſion he ſhould meet with an oppoſition too repugnant to his views, he would be at liberty to purſue his own meaſures, by taking the reſponſibility of them upon himſelf.

THE governor-general, like all the reſt of the officers, is appointed only for five years, but uſually holds his place during life. There have formerly been inſtances of governors-general who have retired from buſineſs, to paſs their days in tranquillity at Batavia; but the ill-treatment experienced from their ſucceſſors, has, of late years, determined them to remain in their poſt till death. For a long time they appeared in great ſtate, but this parade was laid aſide by the Governor-general Imhoff, as uſeleſs and troubleſome. Though all orders of men may aſpire to this dignity, none of the army, and but few of the gown, have been known to obtain it. It is almoſt always filled by merchants, becauſe the ſpirit of the company is entirely commercial. Thoſe who are born in India have ſeldom ſufficient addreſs or abilities to procure it. The preſent preſident, however, has never been in Europe.

THE appointments of this principal officer are but trifling; he has no more than two thouſand two hundred livres * a month, and ſubſiſtence equal to his pay. The greateſt part of his income ariſes from the liberty allowed him, of taking as much as he thinks proper from the magazines at the current price, and from that he aſſumes the liberty of trading to any extent he judges convenient. The

* 91l. 13s. 4d.

income of the judges is likewiſe very conſiderable, though the company allows them only four hundred and forty livres * a month, and goods to the ſame amount.

THE council meets but twice a week, unleſs when ſome extraordinary events require a more ſtrict attendance. They appoint to all civil and military employments in India, except thoſe of the writer and ſerjeant, which they thought might be left, without inconvenience, at the diſpoſal of the governors of the reſpective ſettlements. On his advancement to any poſt, every man is obliged to take an oath, that he has neither promiſed, nor given any thing to obtain his employment. This cuſtom, which is very ancient, familiariſes people with falſe oaths, and proves no bar to corruption. Whoever conſiders the number of abſurd and ridiculous oaths neceſſary to be taken at preſent in moſt countries, on being admitted into any ſociety or profeſſion whatever, will be leſs ſurpriſed to find prevarication ſtill prevailing, where perjury has led the way.

WHILE good faith reigned upon the earth, a ſimple promiſe was ſufficient to inſure confidence. Oaths owe their origin to perfidy. Man was not required to call upon the God that heard him to witneſs his veracity, till he deſerved no longer to be believed. Magiſtrates and ſovereigns, to what do your regulations tend? You either oblige the man of probity to lift up his hand, and call Heaven to witneſs, which with him is a requiſition as

* 18l. 6s. 8d.

injurious

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injurious as it is uſeleſs; or you compel an oath from the mouth of a reprobate. Of what value can the oath of ſuch a man appear to you? If the oath be contrary to his own ſecurity, it is abſurd. If it be conſonant with his intereſt, it is ſuperfluous. Does it argue a knowledge of the human heart, to give the debtor his choice between his ruin, and a falſhood; or the criminal his option between death and perjury? The man whom motives of revenge, intereſt, or wickedneſs have determined to give a falſe teſtimony, will he be deterred by the fear of committing one crime more? Is he not appriſed before he is brought up to the tribunal of juſtice, that this formality will be required of him? And has he not from the bottom of his heart deſpiſed it, before he complied with it? Is it not a ſpecies of impiety to introduce the name of God in our wretched diſputes? Is it not a ſingular mode of making Heaven, as it were, an accomplice in the guilt, to ſuffer that Heaven to be called upon, which has never contradicted, nor will ever contradict the oath? How intrepid, therefore, muſt not the falſe witneſs become, when he has with impunity called down the divine vengeance upon his head, without the fear of being convicted? Oaths ſeem to be ſo much debaſed and proſtituted by their frequency, that falſe witneſſes are grown as common as robbers.

ALL connections of commerce, not excepting thoſe with the Cape of Good Hope, are made by the council, and the reſult of them always falls under their cognizance. Even the ſhips that ſail directly from Bengal and Ceylon, only carry to Europe

Europe the invoices of their cargoes. Their accompts, as well as all others, are ſent to Batavia, where a general regiſter is kept of all affairs.

THE council of India is not a ſeparate body, nor is it independent. It acts in ſubordination to the direction eſtabliſhed in the United Provinces. Though this be, in the ſtricteſt ſenſe of the word, a direction, the care of diſpoſing of the merchandiſe twice a year is divided between ſix chambers concerned in this commerce. Their buſineſs is more or leſs, according to the funds that belong to them.

THE general aſſembly, which has the conduct of the buſineſs of the company, is compoſed of the directors of all the chambers. Amſterdam nominates eight; Zealand, four; each of the other chambers, one; and the ſtate but one. Hence we ſee that Amſterdam, having half the number of voices, has only one to gain to enable it to turn the ſcale in all the deliberations, where every queſtion is decided by a majority of votes.

THIS body, which is compoſed of ſeventeen perſons, meets twice or thrice a year, during ſix years at Amſterdam, and two at Middleburg. The other chambers are too inconſiderable to enjoy this prerogative. Some myſterious-minded men, towards the middle of the laſt century, imagined, that profound ſecrecy might inſure greater ſucceſs to their tranſactions; and four or five of the moſt enlightened, or moſt powerful men among the deputies were accordingly choſen, and

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invested with authority to regulate all affairs of importance, without the consent of their colleagues, and without being obliged even to ask their opinion.

NOTWITHSTANDING the faults which it is easy to perceive in these singular institutions, the company rose to a very brilliant state of prosperity. Let us endeavour to investigate the causes of this political phænomenon.

Causes of the prosperity of the company.

THE early successes of the company were owen to their having the good fortune, in less than half a century, to take more than three hundred Portugueſe vessels; some of which were bound for Europe, and others for the different sea-ports in India, and were laden with the spoils of Asia. This wealth, which the captors had the honesty to leave untouched, brought to the company immense returns, or served to procure them. Thus the sales became very considerable, although the exports were very moderate.

THE decline of the maritime power of the Portugueſe encouraged the Dutch to attack the settlements belonging to that nation, and greatly facilitated the conquest of them. They found the forts strongly built, defended by a numerous artillery, and provided with every thing that government and the rich individuals of a victorious nation might naturally be supposed to have collected together for their protection. To form a just idea of this advantage, we need only consider what it has cost other nations to obtain permission to fix in an advantageous situation, to build houses, magazines

magazines, and forts; and to procure all the conveniences neceſſary for their ſecurity, or their commerce.

When the company found themſelves in poſſeſſion of ſo many rich and well eſtabliſhed ſettlements, they did not ſuffer themſelves to be ſeduced by a graſping ſpirit of ambition. They were deſirous of extending their commerce, not their conqueſts; and can ſcarce be accuſed of any acts of injuſtice, except ſuch as ſeemed neceſſary to ſecure their power. The Eaſt was no longer a ſcene of bloodſhed, as it had been at the time when the deſire of diſtinguiſhing themſelves by martial exploits, and the rage of making proſelytes, gave the Portugueſe a menacing air wherever they appeared in India.

The Dutch ſeemed to have arrived rather to revenge, and reſcue the natives of the country, than to enſlave them. They maintained no wars with them, but ſuch as were neceſſary to procure ſettlements upon their coaſts, and to oblige them to enter into treaties of commerce. It is true, theſe people received no advantage from them, and were deprived of a great part of their liberty; but in other reſpects, their new maſters, rather leſs barbarous than the conquerors they had diſpoſſeſſed, left the Indians at liberty to govern themſelves, and did not compel them to change their laws, their manners, or their religion.

By their manner of poſting and diſtributing their forces, they contrived to keep the people in awe, whom they had at firſt conciliated by their behaviour. If we except Cochin and Malacca,

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they had nothing upon the continent but factories and ſmall forts. The iſlands of Java and Ceylon contained their troops and magazines; and from thence their ſhips maintained their authority, and protected their trade throughout India.

THIS commerce was become very conſiderable ſince the deſtruction of the Portugueſe power had thrown the ſpice trade into their hands. Although the chief conſumption of the ſpices was in Europe, the fortunate poſſeſſors of this branch of commerce did not fail to ſell a conſiderable part of them in the Indies, though at a lower price. They found an annual vent there for ten thouſand pounds weight of mace, one hundred thouſand pounds of nutmegs, one hundred and fifty thouſand pounds of cloves, two hundred thouſand pounds of cinnamon, and three or four millions weight of pepper. Theſe, however, were in general ſpices of an inferior quality, which would not have been ſold in our countries.

THE care of exporting and diſtributing the ſpices, aſſiſted the Dutch in appropriating to themſelves ſeveral other branches of commerce. In proceſs of time they became maſters of the coaſting trade of Aſia, as they were already of that of Europe. This navigation employed a great number of ſhips and ſailors, who, without cauſing any expence to the company, contributed to its ſecurity.

BY virtue of theſe ſuperior advantages, they were enabled, for a long time, to prevent the attempts of other nations to interfere in the Indian trade, or to make them abortive. The produce of this

this rich country came to the Europeans through the hands of the Dutch; who never experienced thoſe reſtraints from their country, which have in latter times been impoſed every where elſe. The government, convinced that the proceedings of other nations neither ought, nor could be a rule to direct their conduct, always gave the company leave to diſpoſe of their merchandiſe at the capital freely, and without reſerve. At the time this ſociety was inſtituted, the United Provinces had neither any manufactures nor crude materials to work upon. It was therefore no inconvenience, but rather a point of great policy, to allow, and even encourage, the citizens to wear linens and ſtuffs imported from India. The various manufactures which were introduced into the republic, in conſequence of the repeal of the edict of Nantz, might have induced them to lay aſide the thoughts of purchaſing their clothing from ſo remote a country; but the fondneſs that prevailed in Europe at that time for French faſhions, had given ſo advantageous an opening for the manufactures of the refugees, that they had not the leaſt idea of departing from the antient channel. Since the high price of labour, the neceſſary conſequence of a redundancy of money, has leſſened the manufactures, and obliged the nation to trade upon a frugal plan, Indian ſtuffs have had a greater run than ever. It was thought that fewer inconveniences would ariſe from enriching the Indians than the Engliſh or French, whoſe proſperity would not fail to haſten the ruin of a ſtate, the opulence of which is only ſupported by the blind-

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neſs, the diſputes, or the indolence of other powers.

Decline of the company.

THIS diſpoſition of things had carried the fortune of the company to a degree, from which it has at length fallen off. This truth will be made apparent by entering into a detail of ſome facts.

THE firſt funds of this commercial aſſociation did not amount to more than 14,211,648 livres *. Of this fund, 8,084,813 † were furniſhed by Amſterdam; 2,934,540 livres eight ſols ‡ by Zealand; 1,180,905 livres § by Enchuyſen; 1,034,000 ‖ by Delft; 587,109 livres twelve ſols ** by Horn; and the remaining 390,280 livres †† by Rotterdam.

THIS capital, which has never been increaſed, and which, ſince its eſtabliſhment to the 1ſt of January 1778, has yielded, one year with another, twenty-one and one-ſeventeenth per cent. was divided into ſums of 6,600 livres ‡‡, which were called ſhares. Their number amounted to two thouſand one hundred and fifty-three. They were ſold for ready money, or upon credit, as all merchandiſe is. The form required in tranſacting this buſineſs was only to ſubſtitute the name of the buyer, inſtead of that of the ſeller, upon the books of the company, and in this conſiſted the ſole claim the proprietors had. Avarice and the ſpirit of calculation have ſuggeſted another mode of being concerned in this traffic. Perſons

* 592,152 l. † 336,867 l. 4 s. 2 d. ‡ 122,272 l. 10 s. 4 d.
§ 49,204 l. 7 s. 6 d. ‖ 43,083 l. 6 s. 8 d.
** 24,462 l. 18 s. †† 16,261 l. 13 s. 4 d. ‡‡ 275 l.

who

who had no ſhares to ſell, and others who had no intention to buy, engaged themſelves reciprocally; the former, to furniſh a certain number of ſhares, and the latter, to take them at a ſtated price, and on a given day. The price they bore at that period determined the fate of theſe gameſters. The perſon who had loſt, paid the difference in money, and thus ended the negotiation.

THE deſire of gain, and the fear of loſing in theſe bold ſpeculations, generally excited an extraordinary degree of agitation in the minds of the perſons concerned. Good or bad news was invented; the credit of this intelligence was alternately leſſened or confirmed; and attempts were made to diſcover the myſteries of courts, and to bribe miniſters. Public tranquillity was ſo frequently diſturbed by the colliſion of theſe oppoſite intereſts, that the government thought it neceſſary to take ſome ſteps to prevent the exceſs of this ſtock-jobbing. It was declared, that every ſale of ſhares ſhould be deemed void, unleſs it could be proved by the books, that the ſeller, at the time of making the bargain, was really poſſeſſed of that property. Men of honour did not think themſelves diſpenſed from their engagements by this law; but it produced the intended effect of making theſe tranſactions leſs frequent.

IN ſucceſsful times, theſe ſhares roſe to an almoſt incredible price, as far as to eight times their original value; but they have ſucceſſively fallen off. At the period we are now writing, they do not gain more than about three hundred and ſixty per cent. This is even a higher price than they

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will ſell for any where except in Holland, where the people have uſed themſelves to be ſatisfied with an intereſt of two and three-fourths per cent.

At the end of the year 1751, the capital of the company, after the payment of the debts, did not exceed 62,480,000 livres *. Of this ſum even, there was not, in money, good bills, and merchandiſe, both in the magazines or upon the ſeas of Europe and India, any more than 38,060,000 livres †. The remainder conſiſted of doubtful or deſperate debts, of arms, proviſions, artillery, military ſtores, cattle, ſlaves, and ſome other effects which were not objects of commerce.

At the ſame period, the annual profits aroſe to 27,940,000 livres ‡. But in order to gain this return, it was neceſſary to lay out 20,460,000 §; ſo that the net profit was 7,480,000 livres ‖, to anſwer the dividend, and to ſupply the expences of war, or the loſſes from fire, ſhipwreck, and the other various calamities which human prudence can neither foreſee nor prevent.

This ſituation appeared ſo very alarming to Moſſel, the ableſt of the chiefs that ever governed the Dutch ſettlements in the Eaſt Indies, that he conſidered the company as an exhauſted body to be ſupported only by cordials: it was, as he expreſſed himſelf, a leaky veſſel, that is kept from foundering only by the pump.

* 2,603,333 l. 6s. 8d.
† 1,585,833 l. 6s. 8d.
‡ 1,164,166 l. 13s. 4d.
§ 852,500 l.
‖ 311,666 l. 13s. 4d.

NOTWITHSTANDING all the endeavours we have made, it has been impoſſible to obtain a ſtate of accounts poſterior to the one we have juſt given. What are then the people intereſted in theſe concerns to think of the obſtinacy with which they are left in ignorance of their ſituation? They muſt conclude either that their affairs are in the utmoſt confuſion; that the perſons to whom they have intruſted the adminiſtration of them, are diſhoneſt men, whoſe conſtant deſign is to order and diſpoſe of every thing at pleaſure, and to pillage, without ſubjecting themſelves to any kind of reclamation; or who create ſuſpicions of malverſation, merely for the purpoſe of ſecuring themſelves from the imputation of ignorance. They muſt naturally ſay to themſelves, we are in the hands of unſkilful men, or of knaves, and of theſe two ſuppoſitions, whichever they may adopt, the effect will be the ſame. The ſtock-holders will be miſtruſtful, the ſhares will be depreciated, and the company will fall to ruin. When we conſider with a little attention this myſterious kind of conduct, we ſhall find it difficult to determine upon which we are moſt to lay the blame, upon the indolence of the proprietors, who have a right to demand an account from perſons, who in fact are no more than their agents, and who certainly will not be involved in their ruin; or upon the tyrannical inſolence of theſe repreſentatives, to whom their fellow-citizens have intruſted their fortune, which they make uſe of as if it were their own; or, laſtly, upon the perfidious connivance of the rulers of the ſtate, who dare not, or can-

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not, or will not interpoſe their authority in a matter of ſo great importance. However this may be, the ſecrecy to which the company binds its agents by oath, does not prevent it from being apparent, that its ſituation is becoming every day more deplorable. The company has itſelf been obliged to communicate its diſtreſs to other nations, by continuing conſtantly to diminiſh its dividends. Let us now endeavour to inveſtigate the true cauſes of this melancholy truth.

Reaſons of the decline of the company.

THE firſt of theſe was the multitude of little wars they were ſucceſſively engaged in without intermiſſion. Scarce had the inhabitants of the Moluccas recovered from the aſtoniſhment into which they had been thrown by the victories gained by the Dutch over a people whom they looked upon as invincible, than they grew impatient of the yoke. The company, dreading the conſequences of this diſcontent, attacked the king of Ternate, to oblige him to conſent to the extirpation of the clove-tree every where except in Amboyna. The iſlanders in Banda were utterly exterminated, becauſe they refuſed to become ſlaves. Macaſſar, deſirous of ſupporting their pretenſions, kept a conſiderable force at bay for a long time. The loſs of Formoſa brought on the ruin of the factories of Tonkin and Siam. The company were obliged to have recourſe to arms to ſupport the excluſive trade of Sumatra. Malacca was beſieged, its territory ravaged, and its navigation interrupted by pirates. Negapatan was twice attacked; Cochin was employed in reſiſting the attempts of the kings of Calicut, and

Tra-

Travancor. Ceylon has been a ſcene of perpetual diſturbances, which are as frequent and ſtill more violent at Java, where peace can never continue long, unleſs the company will give a reaſonable price for the commodities they require. All theſe wars have proved ruinous, more ruinous indeed than they ought to have been, becauſe thoſe who had the management of them only ſought opportunities of enriching themſelves.

THESE notorious diſſentions have in many places been followed by odious oppreſſions, which have been practiſed at Japan, China, Cambodia, Aracan, on the banks of the Ganges, at Achem, Coromandel, Surat; in Perſia, at Baſſora, Mocho, and other places. Moſt of the countries in India are filled with tyrants, who prefer piracy to commerce, and who acknowledge no right but that of force, and think that whatever is practicable is juſt.

THE profits accruing to the company from the places where their trade met with no interruption for a long time, counterbalanced the loſſes they ſuſtained in others by tyranny or anarchy; but other European nations deprived them of this indemnification. This competition obliged them to buy dearer and to ſell cheaper. Their natural advantages might perhaps have enabled them to ſupport this misfortune, if their rivals had not determined to throw the trade carried on from India to India into the hands of private merchants. By this expreſſion we are to underſtand the operations neceſſary to tranſport the merchandiſe of one country in Aſia to another; from China, Bengal, and Surat, for inſtance, to the Phillip-

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Phillippines, Perſia, and Arabia. It was by means of this circulation, and by a multiplicity of exchanges, that the Dutch obtained for nothing, or for a trifle, the rich cargoes they brought to Europe. The activity, œconomy and ſkill of the free merchants drove the company from all the ſea-ports where no partiality was ſhewn.

THIS revolution, which ſo clearly pointed out to them what ſteps they had to take, did not even ſet them right with reſpect to a meaſure that was deſtructive to trade. They had been accuſtomed to carry all their Indian and European merchandiſe to Batavia, from whence it was diſtributed among the different factories where it might be ſold to advantage. This cuſtom occaſioned expence and loſs of time, the inconveniences of which were not perceived while their profits were ſo enormous. When other nations carried on a direct trade, it became indiſpenſably neceſſary to relinquiſh a ſyſtem, not only bad in itſelf, but incompatible with circumſtances. The dominion of cuſtom, however, ſtill prevails; and it was ſaid to be owen to the company's apprehenſions that their ſervants would make an improper uſe of any innovation, that they did not adopt a meaſure, the neceſſity of which was ſo fully demonſtrated.

THIS was probably nothing more than a pretext which ſerved to conceal motives of private intereſt. The frauds of the agents were more than winked at. The firſt of them employed had for the moſt part been exact in their conduct. They had been under the direction of admirals, who

who viſited all the factories who were inveſted with abſolute powers in India, and, at the concluſion of every voyage, gave an account in Europe of their adminiſtration. In proportion as the government became a ſedentary one, the agents, who were not ſo ſtrictly watched, grew more remiſs. They abandoned themſelves to that effeminacy, a habit of which is ſo eaſily contracted in hot countries. It became neceſſary to increaſe the number of theſe agents: and no one made a capital point of correcting an abuſe, which gave the people in power an opportunity of providing for all their dependents; who went to Aſia with a view of making a conſiderable fortune in a ſhort time. Being prohibited from trading, their appointments not being ſufficient to maintain them, and all honeſt ways of enriching themſelves being ſhut againſt them, they had recourſe to mal-practices. The company were cheated in all their affairs by factors who had no intereſt in their proſperity. Theſe diſorders grew to ſuch a height, that it was propoſed to allow a premium of five per cent. upon all commodities ſold or bought, which was to be divided among all the ſervants of the company according to their ranks. Upon theſe terms they were obliged to take an oath that their account was juſt. This arrangement laſted but five years; it being found that corruption prevailed as much as ever: the premium and the oath were then aboliſhed; and from this period the agents demand any conſideration for their trouble that their avarice dictates.

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THE contagion, which at firſt infected the lower factories, gradually reached the principal ſettlements, and at laſt Batavia itſelf. So great a ſimplicity of manners prevailed there at firſt, that the members of the government uſually dreſſed like common ſailors, and never wore decent cloaths but in their council-chamber. This modeſty was accompanied with ſo diſtinguiſhed a probity, that before the year 1650 not one remarkable fortune had been made; but this unheard-of prodigy of virtue could not be of long duration. Warlike republics have been ſeen to conquer and make acquiſitions for their country, and to fill the public treaſury with the ſpoils of kingdoms. But we ſhall never ſee the citizens of a commercial republic amaſs riches for a particular body in the ſtate, from which they derive neither glory nor profit. The auſterity of republican principles muſt of courſe give way to the example given by the people of the Eaſt. This relaxation of manners was more ſenſibly perceived in the capital of the colony, where the articles of luxury that came from all parts, and the air of magnificence it was thought neceſſary to throw round the adminiſtration, introduced a taſte for ſhew. This taſte occaſioned a corruption of manners; and this corruption of manners made all methods of getting money alike indifferent. Even the appearance of decency was ſo far diſregarded, that a governor-general finding himſelf convicted of plundering the finances without the leaſt kind of reſtraint, made no ſcruple of juſtifying his conduct by producing a carte blanche ſigned by the company.

How

How was it poſſible to have ſettled a remedy againſt this conduct of the governors, when their depravation could not have been foreſeen in the infancy of the republic, where a purity of manners and frugality prevailed? In theſe ſettlements of the Dutch the laws had been made for virtuous men; other manners required other laws.

THESE diſorders might have been repreſſed in their firſt beginnings, if they had not naturally made the ſame progreſs in Europe as in Aſia. But as a river that overflows its banks collects more mud than water in its paſſage, ſo the vices which riches bring along with them increaſe faſter than riches themſelves. The poſt of director, which was at firſt allotted to able merchants, was at length veſted in great families, in which it was perpetuated, together with the magiſtracies, by virtue of which it had been firſt procured. Theſe families, engaged in political views, or in the ſervice of adminiſtration, conſidered theſe poſts which they had extorted from the company, only in the light of a conſiderable income, or an eaſy proviſion for their relations; ſome of them even as opportunities of making a bad uſe of their credit. The buſineſs of receiving accounts, hearing debates, and carrying on the moſt important tranſactions of the company, was left to a ſecretary, who, under the more plauſible title of advocate, became the ſole manager of all the affairs. The governors, who met but twice a-year, in ſpring and autumn, at the arrival and departure of the fleet, forgot the habit and track of all buſineſs

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buſineſs which requires a conſtant attention. They were obliged to repoſe an entire confidence in a perſon appointed by the ſtate to make extracts from all the diſpatches that arrived from India, and to draw up the form of the anſwers that were to be returned. This guide, who was ſometimes incapable, often bribed, and always ſuſpicious, either threw thoſe whom he conducted into a precipice, or ſuffered them to fall into it.

THE ſpirit of commerce ariſes from intereſt, and intereſt always occaſions diſputes. Each chamber would have docks, arſenals, and magazines of its own for the ſhips it was to fit out. Offices were multiplied, and frauds were encouraged by a conduct ſo erroneous.

IT was a maxim in every department to furniſh goods, as it had a right to do, in proportion to the number of its ſhips. Theſe goods were not equally proper for the places for which they were deſtined, and were either not ſold at all, or ſold to diſadvantage.

WHEN circumſtances called for extraordinary ſupplies, a ſpirit of puerile vanity, which is afraid of betraying its weakneſs by confeſſing its wants, led them to avoid borrowing money in Holland, where they would have paid only an intereſt of three per cent. and to have recourſe to Batavia, where money was at ſix, or more frequently to Bengal, or the coaſt of Coromandel, where it was at nine per cent. and ſometimes much higher. Abuſes were multiplied on all ſides.

THE ſtates-general, whoſe buſineſs it was to examine every four years into the ſtate of the company;

company; to ſatisfy themſelves that they kept within the limits aſſigned by their grant; to ſee that juſtice was adminiſtered to the perſons concerned, and that the trade was carried on in a manner not prejudicial to the republic; ſhould have put a ſtop to theſe irregularities, and ought to have done it. They did not do their duty upon any occaſion, nor at any time. There never was preſented to this aſſembly any other than ſo confuſed a ſtate of accounts, that perſons, the moſt completely verſed in figures, would not have been able to clear up the chaos with the longeſt and moſt continued nocturnal labours; notwithſtanding which, with a kind of complaiſance, the motives of which we ſhould fear to ſearch into, theſe accounts were always audited with unanimous approbation, without the leaſt delay, and without the ſlighteſt diſcuſſion of the particulars.

But we are weary of giving a detail of the ſeveral irregularities that have corrupted the government of an aſſociation formerly ſo flouriſhing. The colours of this picture are too gloomy. Let us examine what remedies it would be proper to apply to evils of ſuch number and magnitude.

Meaſures that remain to be taken for the re-eſtabliſhment of the company's affairs.

The firſt thing neceſſary is to be convinced that the government of the company is too complicated even in Europe. A direction veſted in ſo many chambers, and in ſuch a number of directors, muſt be attended with infinite inconveniences. It is impoſſible that the ſame ſpirit ſhould prevail throughout the whole, and that the

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tranſactions ſhould be carried on without receiving a tincture from the oppoſite views of the perſons who conduct them in different places, with independence and without harmony. Unity of deſign, ſo neceſſary in the fine arts, is equally advantageous in buſineſs. In vain will it be objected that it is the intereſt of all democratic ſtates to divide their wealth, and to make the fortunes of the citizens as equal as poſſible. This maxim, in itſelf true, is not applicable to a republic that has no territory, and maintains itſelf merely by its commerce. It will therefore be expedient that every article bought or ſold ſhould fall under one general inſpection, and be brought into one port. The ſavings that would be made would be the leaſt advantage the company would receive from this alteration.

FROM this place, which would be the centre of intelligence from all quarters, deputations might be ſent to inquire into and correct abuſes in the remoteſt parts of Aſia. The conduct of the Dutch towards the Indian princes, from whom they have forcibly extorted an excluſive commerce, will be one of the firſt objects of conſideration. They have for a long time behaved to them with an inſolent pride; they have attempted to learn and to lay open the ſecrets of their government; and to engage them in quarrels with their neighbours; they have fomented diviſions among their ſubjects, and ſhewn a diſtruſt mixed with animoſity; they have obliged them to make ſacrifices which they never promiſed; and deprived them of advantages ſecured to them by the terms

of

of capitulation. All theſe intolerable acts of tyranny occaſion frequent diſturbances, which ſometimes end in hoſtilities. To reſtore harmony, which is a taſk that grows more neceſſary and more difficult every day, agents ſhould be appointed, who with a ſpirit of moderation ſhould unite a knowledge of the intereſts, cuſtoms, language, religion, and manners of theſe nations. At preſent, perhaps, the company may be unprovided with perſons of this ſtamp; but it concerns them to procure ſuch. Perhaps too they might find ſuch among the ſuperintendents of their factories, which they have every reaſon to induce them to abandon.

THE diſcerning part of the merchants of all nations unanimouſly agree, that the Dutch ſettlements in India are too numerous: and that by leſſening their number, they would greatly reduce their expences, without diminiſhing their commerce. The company cannot poſſibly be ignorant of what is ſo generally known. One would be apt to think they were induced to continue the factories that were burdenſome, to prevent a ſuſpicion of their not being in a condition to maintain them. But this weak conſideration ſhould ſway them no longer. All that deſerves their attention is to make a due diſtinction between what it is convenient to part with, or advantageous to retain. They have before them a ſeries of facts and experience, which muſt prevent any miſtake in an arrangement of ſuch importance.

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In the ſubordinate factories, which they may think proper to continue for the advantage of trade, they will demoliſh all uſeleſs fortifications; they will diſſolve the councils, eſtabliſhed from motives of oſtentation rather than neceſſity; and they will proportion the number of their ſervants to the extent of their tranſactions. Let the company call to mind thoſe happy times, when two or three factors, choſen with judgment, ſent out cargoes infinitely more conſiderable than any they have received ſince; when they raiſed amazing profits upon their goods, which in proceſs of time have been diverted into the pockets of their numerous agents; and then they will not heſitate a moment to return to their old maxims, and to prefer a ſimplicity which made them rich, to an empty parade that ruins them.

The reformation will be attended with greater difficulties in the more important colonies. The company's agents there are a more numerous, reputable, and in proportion a more opulent body, and conſequently leſs diſpoſed to ſubmit to any regulations. It is, however, neceſſary to reduce them to order, ſince the abuſes they have either introduced or winked at, muſt ſooner or later inevitably occaſion the total ruin of the intereſts over which they preſide. The malverſations that prevail in the manufactures, magazines, docks, and arſenals at Batavia, and the other large ſettlements, are ſcarcely to be paralleled.

These arrangements would lead to others ſtill more conſiderable. At their firſt riſe the company

pany eſtabliſhed fixed and preciſe rules, which were not to be departed from on any pretence or on any occaſion whatſoever. Their ſervants were mere machines, the ſmalleſt movements of which they had wound up before-hand. They judged this abſolute and univerſal direction neceſſary to correct what was amiſs in the choice of their agents, who were moſt of them drawn out of obſcurity, and had not the advantage of that careful education which would have enlarged their ideas. The company themſelves did not ſuffer the leaſt variation in their own conduct, and to this invariable uniformity they attributed the ſucceſs of their enterprizes. The frequent misfortunes which this ſyſtem occaſioned did not prevail with them to lay it aſide; and they always adhered obſtinately to their firſt plan. It is neceſſary that they ſhould adopt other maxims; and after having choſen their factors with more caution, that they ſhould leave to their ſkill and exertions the management of concerns at ſo great a diſtance, and ſubject to perpetual changes. Tired of maintaining a diſadvantageous ſtruggle with the free traders of other nations, they ſhould reſolve to leave the commerce, from one part of India to another, to private perſons. This happy innovation would make their colonies richer and more powerful; and they would ſoon be filled with men of an enterpriſing ſpirit, who would diffuſe their moſt plentiful and moſt valuable productions in all the markets. They themſelves would reap more advantage from the cuſtoms

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collected in their factories than they could poſſibly expect from the complicated, languid, and even unfrequent commercial agreements tranſacted there.

At the ſame time, thoſe too ruinous armaments for which the company are inceſſantly cenſured will be diſcontinued. Soon after the commencement of the preſent century they adopted in their docks a defective mode of conſtructing ſhips, which made them loſe a great number of them, and ſome very rich cargoes. Theſe fatal experiments brought them back to the practice generally received; but from ſome improper motives they continued to employ in their voyages one-third more of veſſels than were neceſſary. This inſtance of corruption, which ought not to have been overlooked at any time, is become more particularly inſupportable, ſince the materials employed in naval affairs have ariſen to a very exorbitant price; and ſince it has been neceſſary to increaſe the pay of the ſailors.

These reformations would bring on an extenſion of trade; which, in proportion to the manners and circumſtances, was formerly very conſiderable; but the progreſs of it was ſtopped, notwithſtanding the great increaſe of conſumption in Europe, and the new markets opened with Africa and America. It was even perceived to decreaſe, ſince there was no augmentation of its produce, although the merchandiſe was almoſt doubled in value. At preſent the ſales do not

amount to more than from forty to fifty-five millions of livres *; a ſum which they brought ſixty years ago, and even before that period.

In theſe colonies are found linens, tea, ſilks, china-ware, borax, tin, camphire, tutenague, ſaltpetre, cotton, indigo, pepper, coffee, ſugar, woods for dying, and other articles more or leſs conſiderable, bought up in the different markets of Aſia, or produced by the territory of the company. Theſe productions and mercantile articles are alſo furniſhed by ſuch of the European nations as have formed connections in India. There is ſcarce any thing but cinnamon, cloves, nutmeg, and mace, the conſumption of which amounts annually to twelve millions of livres †, the ſale of which belongs excluſively to the Dutch.

After the improvements which we have ventured to propoſe, order would be re-eſtabliſhed for ſome time: we ſay for ſome time, becauſe every colony, where authority and obedience to it are placed in two different countries widely diſtant from each other, is an eſtabliſhment defective in its firſt inſtitution. It is a machine, the ſprings of which are conſtantly relaxing or breaking, and which muſt be perpetually repaired.

If it were even poſſible that the company could find an effectual and laſting remedy againſt

Misfortunes which threaten the company.

* From 4,666,666 l. 13 s. 4 d. to 4,875,000 l.

† 500,000 l.

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the evils with which they have been tormented for ſo long a time, they would not the leſs be threatened with the loſs of the excluſive privilege of the ſpice-trade.

IT has long been ſuſpected that theſe valuable productions grew in unknown climates. An obſcure report has been ſpread about from all quarters, that the Malays, who were the only people that had an intercourſe with theſe countries, had brought cloves and nutmegs into ſeveral markets. This vague rumour has never been confirmed by certain facts; and, like all vulgar errors, it has at length fallen into neglect.

IN 1774 the Engliſh navigator, Forreſt, ſet out from Balambangan, with a view of aſcertaining whether the ſpices grew in New Guinea, as it had for a long time been aſſerted. At a ſmall diſtance from this ſavage country, in the iſland of Manaſwary, he found a nutmeg-tree, the fruit of which differed only from that which has obtained ſo much celebrity, in being of an oblong form. This enterpriſing man plucked up a hundred ſtems of this uſeful tree, and planted them in 1776, at Bunwoot, a fertile, wholeſome, and inhabited iſland, covered with the moſt beautiful trees, eighteen miles only in circumference, and which Great Britain held from the liberality of the king of Mindanao. Here the nutmeg-tree is undoubtedly cultivated; and probably the clove-tree likewiſe, ſince it is certain that Forreſt landed at ſeveral of the Moluccas.

IT

It is a fact generally known at preſent and aſcertained, that in 1771 and 1772 the French have ſucceeded in obtaining from the Moluccas nutmeg and clove-trees, which they have tranſplanted into their own territories. If theſe plants, which have begun to yield ſome fruit, ſhould one day furniſh a large quantity of theſe ſpices, and of good quality, there will immediately be a revolution in this important branch of commerce. It was in the power of France to have ſhared with the Dutch alone this fruitful ſource of riches: the only thing required to ſecure this advantage, would have been to have united in one central point, which might eaſily have been guarded, all the acquiſitions of this kind that had been made. But the government, whether from generoſity or imprudence, has choſen that this cultivation ſhould be eſtabliſhed in ſeveral of its poſſeſſions. A number of trees planted in ſo many open places, will neceſſarily be conveyed into the colonies of other nations; and in a little time theſe productions, which for ages paſt have been under the controul of an odious monopoly, will become a common benefit to almoſt all mankind. Perhaps it may happen, that ſcarce any other people will be deprived of theſe valuable articles, except thoſe who have been the ancient poſſeſſors of them. The only iſlands where they have hitherto grown, have not, nor can they have any other kind of utility; the maintenance of them is extremely expenſive, and the climate deſtructive. What motives can their maſters

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have to preſerve eſtabliſhments which have loſt all their advantages? They will conſequently abandon them; and thenw hat will become of an aſſociation which for fifty years paſt has had no other reſource againſt the treachery of its agents, the multiplicity of its factories, and the defects of its adminiſtration?

SETTING aſide this conteſt between trading intereſts, the Dutch have reaſon to be apprehenſive of one of a more rapid and deſtructive kind. All circumſtances, particularly their manner of conducting their forces both by ſea and land, conſpire to invite their enemies to attack them.

THE company have a fleet of about a hundred ſhips, from ſix hundred to a thouſand tons burthen. Twenty-eight or thirty are annually ſent out from Europe, and a ſmaller number returns. Thoſe that are not in a condition to return make voyages in India, where the ſeas, except thoſe in the neighbourhood of Japan, are ſo calm, that weaker veſſels may ſail in them with ſafety. In times of profound peace the ſhips ſail ſeparately, but on their return they always form two fleets at the Cape, which paſs by the Orcades, where two ſhips belonging to the republic wait to convoy them to Holland. In time of war this detour was contrived to avoid the enemy's privateers; and it is continued in time of peace to prevent contraband trade. It did not ſeem an eaſy matter to prevail upon ſailors, who were juſt come out of a burning climate, to encounter the cold blaſts of the north; but this difficulty was ſurmounted

mounted by a gratuity of two months pay extraordinary. This cuſtom has been continued, even when contrary winds and ſtorms have driven the fleets into the channel. The directors of the chamber of Amſterdam attempted once to ſuppreſs it; but they were in danger of being burnt by the populace; who, like the reſt of the nation, diſapprove of the arbitrary proceedings of this powerful body, and lament the privileges they enjoy. The company's navy is commanded by officers who were originally ſailors or cabin-boys; they are qualified for pilots, and for working a ſhip, but have not the leaſt idea of naval evolutions; beſides, that from the defects of their education they can have no conception of the love of glory, nor are they capable of inſpiring the claſs of men who are under their command, with that noble ſentiment.

The land forces are formed in a ſtill more faulty manner. Soldiers who have deſerted from every nation in Europe may, indeed, be expected not to want courage; but their proviſion and clothing are ſo bad, and they are ſo much haraſſed, that they have an averſion for the ſervice. The officers, who for the moſt part originally belonged to ſome low profeſſion, in which they have acquired a ſum ſufficient to purchaſe their poſts, are incapable of infuſing into them a military ſpirit. The contempt in which a people purely commercial hold thoſe whoſe ſituation neceſſarily dooms them to poverty, together with the averſion they have for war, contributes greatly

to

BOOK II. to degrade and diſpirit theſe troops. To theſe ſeveral cauſes of their inactivity, weakneſs, and want of diſcipline, may be ſubjoined another, which is equally applicable both to the land and ſea ſervice.

THERE is not, perhaps, in the moſt ſlaviſh governments ſo diſhonourable and iniquitous a mode of raiſing ſeamen and ſoldiers, as that which has for a long time been practiſed by the company. Their agents, called by the people *vendeurs d'ames* (kidnappers), who are always buſy in the territories, and even beyond the boundaries of the republic, make it their employment to entice credulous men to embark for India, in hopes of acquiring a conſiderable fortune in a ſhort time. Thoſe who are allured by the bait are enrolled, and receive two months pay, which is always given to their betrayer. They enter into an engagement of three hundred livres *, which is the profit of the perſon that enliſts them, who is obliged, by this agreement, to furniſh them with ſome clothes worth about a tenth part of that ſum. The debt is ſecured by one of the company's bills, but it is never paid unleſs the debtor lives long enough to diſcharge it out of his pay.

A COMPANY which ſupports itſelf, notwithſtanding this contempt for the military order, and with ſoldiers ſo corrupt, may enable us to judge of the progreſs which the arts of negocia-

* 12l. 10s.

tion

tion have made in theſe latter ages. It has ever been neceſſary to ſupply the want of ſtrength by treaties, by patience, by moderation, and by artifice; but republicans ſhould be well informed, that ſuch a ſtate can only be a precarious one, and that political meaſures, how well ſoever they may be combined, are not always able to reſiſt the torrent of violence and the compulſion of circumſtances. The ſecurity of the company would require troops compoſed of citizens; but this arrangement is by no means practicable; for the depopulation of Holland would be the neceſſary conſequence of it. The government would oppoſe it, and would make the following repreſentations to this company, already too much favoured by the ſtate.

'THE defence and preſervation of our country 'is of infinitely greater moment to us than the 'regulation of your affairs. Of what uſe would 'the gold be to us, with which your ſhips would 'return laden, if our provinces were to become 'deſert? If we ſhould ever ceaſe to employ fo-'reigners in our ſervice, we ſhall ſupply their place 'in our armies, and not on board your ſhips. 'Let us ſend out of the country, and expoſe the 'lives of as few of our fellow-citizens as poſſible. 'The chief men in our factories are ſufficiently 'opulent to preſerve themſelves, by all the 'known precautions, from the fatal influence 'of a peſtilential climate. Of what conſequence 'is it to us, whether a parcel of Germans, ſuc-'ceeding each other, ſhould periſh or not, if there 'are enough ſtill of them to be found, whom miſery

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'has driven out of their country, or who will 'ſuffer themſelves to be amuſed with the hopes 'of a fortune which they will never make? Their 'pay ceaſes the moment they expire; while our 'coffers are continually filling, and our pro- 'vinces are not thinned. The ſecurity of the 'company depends upon that of the republic; 'and what will become of the ſecurity of the re- 'public, if, by a conſtant depopulation, we ſhould 'reduce our country to the miſerable condition of 'our colonies?'

THE company therefore will never be ſerved by any but foreign troops; and it will never inſpire them with that public ſpirit, that enthuſiaſm for glory which it has not itſelf. In this reſpect it is the ſame with a company as with a government, which ought always to form its troops upon thoſe principles only that are the baſis of its own conſtitution. Oeconomy, and the deſire of gain, are the principles of adminiſtration adopted by the company. Theſe are the motives that ſhould be employed to attach the ſoldier to their ſervice. As he is engaged in commercial expeditions, he ſhould be aſſured of a reward proportioned to the means he hath exerted in forwarding their ſucceſs, and his pay ſhould be made out to him in ſtock. Then perſonal intereſts, far from weakening the general ſprings of government, will only ſerve to ſtrengthen them.

IF theſe reflections, however, ſhould not induce the company to alter this important part of their adminiſtration, let them at leaſt be rouſed by the proſpect of the dangers that threaten them.

If

If they were attacked in India, they would be deprived of their ſettlements there in much leſs time than they employed in wreſting them from the Portugueſe. Their beſt towns are in a defenceleſs ſtate, and the navy would be incapable of protecting them. There is not a ſingle ſhip of the line to be ſeen in the ports, and it would be impoſſible to fit out merchantmen as men of war. The ſtrongeſt of thoſe that return to Europe have not one hundred men; and if the ſailors, diſperſed in all the ſhips that ſail to India, were collected, there would not be a ſufficient number to form one ſingle ſhip's crew. Any man accuſtomed to calculate probable events would not ſcruple to ſay, that the power of the Dutch might be annihilated in Aſia, before the ſtate could come to the aſſiſtance of the company. The only baſis upon which this apparently gigantic Coloſſus is fixed, is the Molucca iſlands. Six men of war, and fifteen hundred land-forces, would be more than ſufficient to ſecure the conqueſt of them, which might be effected either by the French or the Engliſh.

If the court of Verſailles ſhould form this enterpriſe, their ſquadron would ſail from the iſle of France, and bear down upon Ternate, where a commencement of hoſtilities would give the firſt intelligence of its arrival in thoſe ſeas. A fort without outworks, and which might be battered from the ſhips, would not make much reſiſtance. Amboyna, which formerly had a rampart, a bad ditch, and four ſmall baſtions, has been ſo frequently

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quently ſubverted by earthquakes, that it cannot be in a condition to put a ſtop to an enterpriſing enemy for two days. Banda has its peculiar difficulties. There is no bottom round theſe iſlands, and there are ſuch violent currents, that if two or three channels which lead up to it were miſſed, the veſſels would be unavoidably carried away under the wind. But this might be eaſily prevented by the pilots of Amboyna. There is nothing more to attack than a wall without a ditch, or a covert way, defended only by four baſtions in bad condition. A ſmall fort erected upon an eminence that commands the place, could not prolong its defence for four-and-twenty hours.

ALL perſons who have ſeen the Moluccas, and examined them attentively, agree, that they would not hold out one month againſt the forces we have mentioned. If, as it is probable, the garriſons, exceſſively reduced in number from motives of œconomy, enervated by the badneſs of the climate, or exaſperated by the ill-treatment they receive, ſhould refuſe to fight, or ſhould make but a feeble reſiſtance, the conqueſt would be more rapid. To ſecure it as firmly as it deſerves, it would be neceſſary to take poſſeſſion of Batavia; a circumſtance not ſo difficult as it may ſeem to be. The ſquadron, with the ſoldiers that were not left in garriſon, and as many of the Dutch troops as ſhould have joined the conqueror, with a timely reinforcement of eight or nine hundred men, would infallibly accompliſh this enterpriſe.

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It would not, indeed, be poſſible to lay ſiege to the place by ſea. The water is generally ſo ſhallow under its walls, that the ſhips would never get near enough to the fortifications, to batter them. The enemy would therefore be obliged to land their troops for the attack. This landing, perhaps, has been made impracticable in ſeveral places, particularly at the mouth of the river which embelliſhes the city. But upon a flat coaſt, which is acceſſible in all parts to boats, the deſcent may be conſidered as already accompliſhed.

The beſiegers, once eſtabliſhed on land, would meet with nothing but a city of a league in circumference, defended by a double ditch more or leſs deep; by a low rampart which is falling to ruin; by an irregular and ill-ſupported citadel; by a few Indians, without courage or experience, collected from different countries; by a ſmall number of white troops, diſſatisfied with their condition, and commanded by officers who have neither rank nor experience. Is it to be preſumed, that ſuch obſtacles would retard the progreſs of enterpriſing troops animated with the expectations of an immenſe booty? Certainly not; and accordingly the hopes of the Dutch are founded upon another baſis.

The climate of Batavia is ſo deſtructive, that a conſiderable part of the ſoldiers conveyed there from our countries periſh in the courſe of the year. Many of thoſe who eſcape the ſtroke of death, are languiſhing in the hoſpitals; and ſcarce a fourth part

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part remains to do the regular duty of the place. The Dutch flatter themſelves, that by adding to theſe ordinary cauſes of fatality the help of a general inundation, which is eaſily done, they would dig a grave for the beſiegers, or force them to re-embark. Blind as they are, not to ſee that time only can ſet all theſe means of deſtruction at work; and the capture of the place would be nothing more than the *coup de main* of a warlike and enterpriſing nation.

THE plan of conqueſt that France might form, would equally ſuit the intereſt of Great Britain; with this difference, that the Engliſh would in the firſt place, perhaps, make themſelves maſters of the Cape of Good Hope, an excellent harbour, which would facilitate their voyages to India.

THE two ſides of the harbour which leads up to the capital of this famous colony, are defended by a number of redoubts judiciouſly diſpoſed: but their batteries would ſoon be diſmounted by the ſhips which can anchor near enough to the land to play upon them. The fort erected near the ſhore would ſhare the ſame fate; and would make ſtill leſs reſiſtance to the moſt trifling force that ſhould attack it by land. Conſtructed without art, commanded on all ſides, and being incapable of containing more than five or ſix hundred troops, it would infallibly be reduced in leſs than four-and-twenty hours with a few bombs. The inhabitants of the colony diſperſed throughout an immenſe ſpace, and ſeparated from each other by

by deſerts, would not have time to come to its relief. Perhaps, they would not if it were in their power. We may be allowed to ſuppoſe, that the oppreſſion under which they groan, may make them wiſh for a change of government.

Motives which the Republic may have not to ſuffer the ruin of the company.

If the republic of Holland ſhould not conſider as imaginary, the dangers to which our regard for the general good of nations makes us apprehend her commerce and her poſſeſſions in India may be expoſed, it ought to omit no precaution to prevent them; for this is one of the moſt important cares it can be employed in. What advantages hath not the ſtate acquired, for theſe two centuries paſt, from theſe diſtant regions? What advantages does it not ſtill derive from them?

First, the ſociety of merchants, who rule theſe ſeveral ſettlements which they have formed themſelves, without any aſſiſtance from government, have ſucceſſively purchaſed the renewal of their charter. In 1602, they obtained their firſt grant for 55,000 livres *. Twenty years after this, it was gratuitouſly renewed. From 1643 to 1646, it was prolonged only from ſix months to ſix months, for reaſons which we are not acquainted with. At this period a gift of 3,300,000 livres † occaſioned it to be granted a-new for five-and-twenty years. This term was not yet expired,

* 2,291l. 13s. 4d. † 137,500l.

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when, in 1665, the monopoly was ſecured to them till 1700, upon condition that they ſhould maintain, for the uſe of the ſtate, twenty ſhips of war, during all the time that the hoſtilities, commenced between the republic and England, ſhould continue. This privileged aſſociation was again allowed to purſue its commercial operations till 1740 for a ſum of 6,600,000 livres*. In the two following years its fate was precarious; then it acquired a firm eſtabliſhment for twelve years, by paying three per cent. upon the diviſion of its ſhares; and afterwards, for twenty years longer, in conſideration of 2,640,000 livres† to be paid in ſpecie, or in ſaltpetre. In 1774, its privileges were reſtrained to two years, and ſoon extended to twenty, upon condition that it ſhould give up three per cent. of its dividend.

IN critical times, the company have ſtept in to the aſſiſtance of the public treaſure, already exhauſted, or nearly ſo. It is true, they have ſooner or later been reimburſed for theſe advances; but a conduct ſo noble relieved and encouraged the citizens.

A GREAT quantity of ſaltpetre was wanted for the uſe of the ſea and land ſervice; this company has obliged itſelf to furniſh it at a low price; and in this manner has relieved the treaſury.

THE manufactures of Harlem and Leyden were decreaſing every day; but their decline has been

* 275,000l. † 110,000l.

retarded,

retarded, and perhaps their total extinction prevented, by the engagements which the company have entered into to export to the amount of 440,000 livres* of the goods manufactured at theſe places. They have alſo agreed to furniſh them with ſilks upon terms which cannot fail of being burdenſome to them.

THE perpetual revenue of thirty-three ſhares and one-third has been granted to the ſtadtholder; and it is to be hoped, that this ſacrifice made by the company to the firſt magiſtrate of the ſtate, may turn out to the advantage of the republic.

THE merchandiſe exported to India, or imported from thence, were formerly ſubject to conſiderable taxes; the mode of collecting which was very embarraſſing. Thirty years ago, it was obſerved, that the regular produce of theſe impoſts was 850,000 livres†, and ſince that period the company pays that ſum into the treaſury every year.

BESIDE the burdens which are to fall upon the company in general, the proprietors have ſtill obligations of their own to fulfil. For more than a century paſt, they paid annually to the ſtate ſix per cent. upon the original value of each ſhare. In 1777, this tax was reduced to four and a half per cent.; and it cannot be increaſed again till the dividend ſhall have ariſen beyond twelve and a half per cent. The proprietors are

* 20,333l. 6s. 8d. † 35,416l. 13s. 4d.

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alſo to pay upon the purchaſe of each ſhare, a duty called *Ampt-Geld*, and which, from thirty-nine livres twelve ſols *, has been lately reduced to four livres eight ſols †.

LET us add to all theſe taxes the profits accruing to the ſtate from the ſale of forty-five millions of livres ‡ worth of goods, obtained with four or five millions ‖ of ſpecie, and not the fourth part of which is conſumed upon the territory of the republic! Let us add the immenſe profits that the reſelling of theſe goods brings in to the merchants, and the vaſt ſpeculations of which it is the cauſe. Let us add the multiplicity and extent of private fortunes amaſſed formerly, as well as in our days, in India. Let us add, the experience which the ſailors acquire from theſe voyages, and the ſpirit they infuſe into the navy, and we ſhall then have a proper idea of the reſources the government has found from its poſſeſſions in Aſia. The excluſive charter by which theſe poſſeſſions are holden and cultivated, ought even to procure ſtill greater advantages to the United Provinces: the reaſon of this is evident.

IT has ever been acknowledged by all nations, whatever the ſyſtem of their government might be, that the riches acquired in any country ought to contribute to the expences of the ſtate. The reaſon of this grand maxim is evident to all capacities. Private fortunes are ſo eſſentially con-

* 1l. 13s. † 3s. 8d. ‡ 1,875,000l.
‖ From 166,666l. 13s. 4d. to 208,333l. 6s. 8d.

nected with public proſperity, that when the latter is injured, the former muſt neceſſarily ſuffer. Thus, when the ſubjects of a ſtate ſerve it with their fortunes or their perſons, they do nothing more than defend their own private intereſts. The proſperity of the country, is the proſperity of each individual. This maxim, which is true in all governments, has a particular propriety when applied to free ſocieties.

MOREOVER, there are bodies of men, whoſe intereſt, either from the nature of thoſe bodies, their extenſive relations, or the variety of their views, are more eſſentially connected with the common intereſt. Of this kind is the Eaſt India company in Holland. The enemies to its trade are enemies to the republic; and its ſecurity is eſtabliſhed on the ſame baſis with that of the ſtate.

IN the opinion of men of the beſt diſcernment, the national debt has ſenſibly weakened the United Provinces, and affected the general welfare, by gradually increaſing the load of taxes, of which it was the firſt cauſe. The republic can never be reſtored to its original ſplendour, till it be releaſed from the enormous burden under which it is oppreſſed, and this relief can only be expected from a company, which it has always encouraged, protected, and favoured. To place this powerful body in a ſituation to render the higheſt ſervices to the country, it will by no means be neceſſary to reduce the profits of the proprietors; it will be ſufficient to bring them

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back to thoſe principles of œconomy and ſimplicity, and to that plan of adminiſtration, which laid the foundation of their firſt proſperity.

Former good conduct of the Dutch, and their preſent degeneracy.

A REFORMATION ſo neceſſary will admit of no delay. This confidence is due to a government which has always endeavoured to maintain a great number of citizens within itſelf, and to employ only a ſmall part of them in its diſtant ſettlements. It was at the expence of all Europe that Holland was continually increaſing the number of its ſubjects; the liberty of conſcience allowed there, and the moderation of the laws, attracted all perſons who were oppreſſed, in ſeveral other places, by a ſpirit of intoleration and the ſeverity of government.

THE republic have procured means of ſubſiſtence to all perſons who have been willing to ſettle and work among them: the inhabitants of a country ruined by war, were ſeen to ſeek ſecurity and employment in Holland.

AGRICULTURE could never be a conſiderable object in Holland, although the land was very well cultivated. But the herring fiſhery ſupplied the place of agriculture. This was a new mode of ſubſiſtence, a ſchool for ſeamen. Born upon the waters, they plowed the ſea, from whence they got their food: they grew familiar with ſtorms; and from the multitude of hazards to which they were expoſed, they learnt to overcome dangers.

THE

THE carrying trade which the republic was continually employed in from one European nation to another, was alſo a kind of navigation, which, without deſtroying men, ſupplied them with ſubſiſtence by labour.

IN a word, navigation, which depopulates a part of Europe, peopled Holland. It was as it were the produce of the country. Her ſhips were her landed eſtates, which ſhe made the moſt of, at the expence of the ſtranger.

FEW of the inhabitants of Holland knew any thing of thoſe conveniencies of life which could only be procured at a very high price: all, or almoſt all of them were unacquainted with luxury. A ſpirit of order, frugality, and even avarice, prevailed throughout the nation, and was carefully kept up by the government.

THE colonies were conducted by the ſame ſpirit.

THE deſign of preſerving their population prevailed in the military ſyſtem; the republic maintained a great number of foreign troops in Europe, and ſome in the colonies.

THE ſailors in Holland were well paid; and foreign ſeamen were conſtantly employed either on board their trading veſſels, or their men of war.

FOR the purpoſes of commerce, it is neceſſary that harmony ſhould be preſerved at home, and peace abroad. No people, except the Swiſs, took more care to keep on good terms with their neighbours; and they endeavoured, ſtill more than the Swiſs, to encourage peace among them.

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THE republic had intended to preſerve unanimity among her citizens by very excellent laws, which ſhould preſcribe the duties of every ſtation, by a ſpeedy and diſintereſted adminiſtration of juſtice, and by regulations admirably well adapted to the merchants. She felt the neceſſity of good faith, ſhewed it by her obſervance of treaties, and endeavoured to inculcate the ſame principle among individuals.

IN a word, we know of no nation in Europe that had conſidered better what its united advantages of ſituation, ſtrength, and population allowed it to undertake, or that had known and followed more effectually the means of increaſing both its population and its ſtrength. We know of none, which having ſuch objects in view as an extenſive commerce and liberty mutually attracting and ſupporting each other, hath conducted itſelf in a better manner for the preſervation of both the one and the other.

BUT how are theſe manners already changed and degenerated from the purity of a republican government! Perſonal intereſts, which become laudable by being combined, are now totally ſelfiſh, and corruption is become general. There is no patriotiſm in that country, which above all others in the univerſe ſhould inſpire its inhabitants with more ſtedfaſt attachments.

WHAT patriotic ſentiments, indeed, might we not expect from a nation that can ſay to itſelf, This land which I inhabit, has been fertilized by me;

me; it is I who have embelliſhed, who have created it. This threatening ſea, which deluged all our plains, rages in vain againſt the powerful dikes I have oppoſed to its fury. I have purified this air which ſtagnant waters had filled with fatal exhalations. It is by my means that ſuperb cities ſtand now upon the ſlime and mud over which the ocean once rolled its waves. The ports I have conſtructed, the canals I have digged, receive the productions of the whole univerſe, which I diſpenſe at pleaſure. The inheritances of other nations are only poſſeſſions which man diſputes with man; that which I ſhall leave to my poſterity I have raviſhed from the elements which conſpired againſt my territory, and am now the maſter of it. Here it is that I have eſtabliſhed a new arrangement of nature, a new ſyſtem of morality. I have done every thing where there was nothing. Air, land, government, liberty, all theſe are my works. I enjoy the glory of the paſt; and when I caſt a look into futurity, I ſee with ſatisfaction that my aſhes will reſt quietly on the ſame ſpot where my forefathers ſaw the breaking of ſtorms.

WHAT motives theſe for idolizing one's country! Yet there is no longer any public ſpirit in Holland: it is a whole, the parts of which have no other relation among themſelves than the ſpot they occupy. Meanneſs, baſeneſs, and diſhoneſty, characteriſe now the conquerors of Philip. They make

make a traffic of their oath as of their merchandiſe; and they will ſoon become the refuſe of the univerſe, which they had aſtoniſhed by their induſtry and by their virtues.

MEN, unworthy of the government under which ye live, ſhudder at leaſt at the dangers that ſurround you! Thoſe who have ſlaviſh ſouls are not far removed from ſlavery. The ſacred fire of liberty can only be kept up by chaſte hands. Ye are not now in the ſame ſtate of anarchy as when the ſovereigns of Europe, all equally oppoſed by the nobles in their reſpective ſtates, could not carry on their deſigns either with ſecrecy, unanimity, or diſpatch; as when the equilibrium of the ſeveral powers was merely the effect of their mutual debility. At preſent, power grown more independent, confirms thoſe advantages to a monarchy, which a free ſtate can never enjoy. What have republicans to oppoſe to a ſuperiority ſo formidable? Their virtues; but ye have loſt them. The corruption of your manners, and of your magiſtrates, encourages every where the detractors of liberty; and perhaps your fatal example is the means of impoſing a heavier yoke on other nations. What anſwer would you wiſh us to make to thoſe men, who either from the prejudice of education, or from miſrepreſentations, are perpetually telling us; This is the government which you extol ſo much in your writings; theſe are the happy conſequences of that ſyſtem of liberty

berty you hold ſo dear? To thoſe vices which you have laid to the charge of deſpotiſm, they have added another, which ſurpaſſes them all, the inability to ſtop the progreſs of evil. What anſwer can be given to ſo ſevere a ſatire on democracy?

INDUSTRIOUS Batavians, formerly ſo poor, ſo brave, and ſo formidable, at preſent ſo opulent and ſo feeble, trembie at the idea of being again reduced to crouch under the yoke of arbitrary power, which you have thrown off, and which ſtill threatens you. It is not I who give you this caution; it is the voice of your anceſtors which thus calls out to you from the bottom of their tombs.

'WAS it then to be reſerved for this ignominy, that we purpled the ſeas with our blood, 'and ſtained this land with it? The wretched-'neſs which we could not ſupport, is that which 'ye are preparing for yourſelves. That gold 'which ye accumulate and hold ſo dear, is that 'which has placed you under the dependence of 'one of your enemies. Ye tremble in his pre-'ſence, from apprehenſions that ye ſhall loſe 'the riches ye have intruſted him with. When-'ever he commands, you obey. Alas! let theſe 'perfidious riches go, if it be neceſſary, and 'recover your dignity. Then it is, that rather 'than ſubmit to the yoke, whatever it may be, 'you will chuſe to throw down with your own 'hands

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'hands the barriers you have raiſed againſt the ſea, 'and to bury yourſelves, together with your ene- 'mies, under the waters.

'BUT if, in your preſent abject and puſilla- 'nimous ſtate, it ſhould happen that ambition 'ſhould lead again a hoſtile army into the cen- 'tre of your provinces, or under the walls of 'your capital; ſay, how would you act upon 'ſuch an event? You are told that you muſt in 'a moment either reſolve to open the gates of 'your city to the enemy, or to burſt your dikes. 'Would you heſitate and exclaim: OUR DIKES! 'OUR DIKES! But we perceive that you turn 'pale. Alas! we ſee too plainly that your wretched 'deſcendants do not retain one ſpark of the virtue 'of their anceſtors.

'WHAT ſtrange infatuation could induce them 'to give themſelves a maſter? But what more 'ſtrange infatuation ſtill could lead them to 'perpetuate his authority, by rendering it here- 'ditary. We ſhould ſay, Woe! to thoſe perſons 'who flattered themſelves that they ſhould alter- 'nately maintain their ſway over the prince, by 'the gratitude he owed them, and over the re- 'public, by the ſupport they ſhould have from 'the prince, if they had not themſelves been 'the victims of their baſe policy; and if it had 'not plunged them into retirement and obſcu- 'rity; puniſhments of the ſevereſt kind to men 'of intrigue and ambition. A free and com-

'mercial

'mercial people, giving themſelves a maſter! 'A people to whom liberty ſhould appear the 'more precious, as they have the more reaſons 'to fear that their projects ſhould be made 'known, their ſpeculations interrupted, their 'enterprizes thwarted, the poſts of the ſtate 'filled by traitors, and thoſe of their colonies be-'ſtowed on unworthy foreigners. You truſt in 'the juſtice and good ſentiments of your preſent 'chief, and perhaps with reaſon. But who will 'inſure to you that his virtues ſhall be tranſ-'mitted to his ſucceſſor; or from him to the 'next, and ſo on from one generation to an-'other, to all the poſterity that ſhall deſcend from 'him?

'O YE, our fellow-citizens and our children! 'may future events diſprove this fatal prophecy! 'But if you would but reflect one moment, or 'if you had the leaſt concern for the fate of 'your progeny, you would already ſee pre-'paring before your eyes the chains that are 'deſtined for them. They are foreigners who 'line the decks of your ſhips; they are foreigners 'who compoſe and command your armies. Look 'into the hiſtorical annals of all nations; read 'and ſhudder at the neceſſary conſequences of ſo 'imprudent a ſtep. That opulence which lulls 'you in a ſtate of lethargy, and keeps you in ſub-'jection to a power that is your rival, that very 'opulence itſelf will excite the cupidity of that 'power which you have created in the midſt

'of

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'of yourſelves. You will be deprived of it, 'and at the ſame time of your liberty. You 'will be annihilated; for you will ſeek for your 'courage within yourſelves, and you will not 'find it.

'BE not deceived: your preſent condition is 'more deplorable than our's ever was. The ad-'vantage of an indigent people groaning under 'oppreſſion is, that they have nothing to loſe 'but life, which is a burden to them. The 'misfortune of a people enervated by riches 'is, that they loſe all for want of courage to 'defend them. Rouſe yourſelves therefore, and 'behold the ſucceſſive progreſs of your degra-'dation. Behold how much you are fallen off 'from that ſtate of ſplendour to which we 'had raiſed ourſelves; and endeavour to aſ-'ſcend to it again, if however it be ſtill practi-'cable.'

THIS is what your illuſtrious and brave anceſtors declare to you by my voice. Of what conſequence, you will anſwer me, are our preſent decline, or our future misfortunes to you? Are you our fellow-citizen? Have you any dwelling, any wife, any children in our cities? I reply; Of what concern is it to you where I was born, who I am, or where I dwell, if what I tell you be but the truth? Did the ancients ever aſk the augur in what country he had firſt ſeen the light; or upon what oak reſted the prophetic bird which

which announced them a victory or a defeat? BOOK II.
Batavians, the deſtiny of every commercial nation is to be rich, effeminate, corrupt, and ſubdued. Aſk yourſelves what you have to expect.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.